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# THE FIRST AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

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TORONTO

# THE FIRST AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

## FIRST PERIOD
## 1775–1778

WITH CHAPTERS ON
THE CONTINENTAL OR REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
AND ON THE FORCES OF THE CROWN

31703

BY

HENRY BELCHER

RECTOR OF S. MICHAEL-IN-LEWES, SUSSEX; FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON
CHAPLAIN TO THE FORCES, T.F.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I

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THIS FRAGMENT OF HISTORY

IS RESPECTFULLY OFFERED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

UNKNOWN MEN ON EITHER HAND

WHO

IN THIS CIVIL CONTEST

PERISHED AMIDST THE NEGLECT OR OBLOQUY

OF THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS

THE AMERICANS, PLUNDERED, MALTREATED, AND STARVED.

THE BRITISH, FLOUTED AS THE *SCUM OF THE EARTH.*

TO

E. S. L. M.

"The rulers of Great Britain have for more than a century past amused the people with the imagination that they possessed a great empire on the west side of the Atlantic.

"This empire has hitherto existed in the imagination only. It has hitherto been not an empire but the project of an empire: not a gold mine but the project of a gold mine; a project which has cost, which continues to cost, and which if pursued in the same way it has been hitherto, is likely to cost immense expense without being very likely to bring any profit. If the project cannot be completed it ought to be given up."—ADAM SMITH (1770).

# PREFACE

Of this portentous War of Disunion the following pages take but slight notice of four minor episodes.

Clinton's ill-advised expedition to Charleston, not, indeed, of his own choosing; the foolish and feeble attack on Canada by Montgomery and Benedict Arnold; the wasteful and purposeless occupation of Rhode Island; and the evil counsels which sent St. Leger to Stanwix with a body of men less numerous than the advance troops of a modern reconnaissance, must have had some influence on the struggle, but being in themselves either failures in execution, or futile in project, it has been thought prudent not to overload these chapters with extended notice of them.

The design of this book has been to reproduce in outlines the local and material conditions of the time, and to depict the moral and social background of the struggle. Hence are submitted for consideration some account of the life, the interests, and topography of the venerable city of Boston; of New York, ever sprightly from its early youth; of Philadelphia, so proud of its title of *The City of Homes*.

The chief actors on this stage are General George Washington, General Sir William Howe, K.B., Lieut.-General Sir John Burgoyne, General the Hon. Thomas Gage, Mr. Samuel Adams, his cousin Mr. John Adams, subsequently a President of the United States, and

Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Of these men only one quits the boards with a fame not merely unscathed but enhanced beyond compare; the others pass away with their reputation either tarnished or obliterated. Of Washington it is impossible to say enough. Perhaps a story told of an obscure New Hampshire pastor may serve to illustrate a pious American's estimate of the Father of his Country.

The Rev. Israel Evans lay expectant of death, and listening to the supplications of a reverend colleague, who was praying that, life's trials ended, Mr. Evans might sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of God; "and with Washington, too," added the venerable man as he breathed his last.

Every good American—perhaps may be added every good Christian—is pleased to think that the civic canonization of the great Virginian is, for the present at least, founded upon a rock.

Neither Adams of Boston, nor Adams of Braintree, nor the well-valeted Hancock of Boston Common, nor Paine the English Quaker, nor the wise Franklin himself, nor all of them together, rendered to their country services equal to those of the Commander-in-Chief of America and of the army which he, with indomitable patience and skill, fashioned out of the mud.

The astonishing blunders made, the insulting superiority assumed towards the Continental army and its chief officers by Congress on the one hand, is perhaps equal on the other to the ineptitude of the British Colonial Office, whether under the control of the gentle Dartmouth or of the quarrelsome Germaine.

Both George III. and Dartmouth, as candid American authors now frankly admit, carried conciliation to the limits of a solicitude more than paternal. England is

never ready for war, and was never less ready for war than in 1775. Dartmouth's epistles to Gage are models of gentle remonstrance of the "Dear me, surely it can't be as bad as that" type; and when Howe wrote demanding a reinforcement of 15,000 men, Germaine assured him 4000 men would be ample for all his requirements. 1775. 1776.

The traditional conceptions about this American War are due to the high lights and dark shadows invented by Whig disciples of Clio on either shore of the Atlantic. Whitewash for all American patriots, jet and japan for the Ministry, and especially for the portraiture of the King, constitute the simple elements of the Whig historical palette. Many of the American histories are written in the superlatives American taste relishes; and some British writers, in the spirit of Charles James Fox, find an obscure pleasure in repeating in somewhat graver tones from American school-books the statements implying that every Englishman engaged in that struggle was either a fool, or knave, or a poltroon.

It is only fair to some American writers of recent times to point out that they are not so intoxicated with the success of that great Disruption as not to see the merits of the British arguments, and to probe the weakness and futilities of the Bancroft school of history.

This Civil War began in New England, which had address enough to entangle in a brief time the remaining Colonies in the armed debate.

Boston to-day cherishes with reminiscent self-approval every ancient landmark, every cobble-stone connected with her appeal to arms. Yet does Boston now feel with some elation that to-day she is more English in thought, feeling, and expression than any other Atlantic city, and her street names and cobbled ways witness

to a kindly memory of a past, which, if not remote in time, is very remote in spirit.

The leaders of this Civil War, like those of 1643, were not democrats; they were country gentlemen and lawyers. They thought highly of property, and of the fruits of successful commerce. They owned tens of thousands of slaves, captives and spoils of many nations. Among their bondsmen were, in the first and foremost place, negroes, then Scotsmen, Irishmen, Englishmen, Germans, Swedes, Dutch, and even Jews. Some of the leading spirits knew a little Latin, and appear to have thought Cicero, that sturdy Tory, a kind of prophet, who had wisely foreseen the political value of Republican Whig ideas.

When the hurly-burly was over, and men were freer to say what they really thought, the little hypocrisies of Whig opportunism entirely vanished.

"The proposition that the people are the best keepers of their own liberties is not true," wrote John Adams. "They are the worst conceivable; they are not keepers at all; they can neither think, act, judge, nor will, as a political body. Individuals have conquered themselves, nations and large bodies never."

President John Adams was representative of his class and of the Whig movement generally. Hamilton, Samuel Adams, and the rest of them were of the same way of thinking. In due time Samuel Adams became Governor of Massachusetts, occupying the chair formerly occupied by Gage, on which promotion his opinions underwent a remarkable change. Quite prudently he, as governor, used to remark that Committees of Safety, Caucuses, and Vigilance men were all very well in their way, but under a settled form of government they usually proved to be an unmitigated

nuisance. Consequently, when the dance of circumstances placed Samuel Adams in authority he made play with a trenchant sword in smiting rebels who complained of taxation without representation.

Had these men lived in England, the mighty Whigs of that century had esteemed them loyal henchmen.

Until George III. broke their power it was an article of political faith in certain quarters that the true sources of all patriotism and disinterested goodness lay somewhere within the ancestral domains of the great Whig nobles. To these high regions of political and moral self-righteousness both Samuel and John would have been attracted by a force quite irresistible. *Similia similibus congregantur.* This party claimed, *jure divino*, all good things: offices, commands, gold-sticks, petty bags, the high ministrations of the pipe, the roll, the powder-closet, and the hanaper. By them the hard-working people like sheep submitted to be shorn. *Sic vos, non vobis vellificatis oves*; and an uncommonly fine fleece the great Whigs found it.

Washington stands aloof. Of him it borders on presumption to say much. He is, in a sense, the John Baptist of America, true to his trust, with a miraculous gift of self-effacement, unswerving in his ideals, making the paths of the great nation straight; without professional education, without even much elementary instruction, his youthful time spent in the wild west of his own native province; a boy warrior like Clive or Hannibal, but unlike them in this, that he fought neither for aggrandisement nor empire. One of those men whom one may without irreverence call divine, the instrument of a divine purpose chosen to lay stronger and better foundations than he knew.

The military interest of this Civil War is of the slightest. Lessons connected with bush-fighting and the value of the rifle were by bitter experience impressed on all; yet even in this direction there was little new. Burgoyne, Gage, Howe, Washington, Gates, Montgomery, Charles Lee, Israel Putnam, Daniel Morgan, and a score of others already knew all there was to know about bush-fighting and Indian warfare. Braddock's expedition had made its mark on many minds. Gage was badly wounded on the Monongahela, where Washington, too, experienced escapes of the narrowest.

Neither side was served by cavalry in the sense modern opinion estimates to be the value of this arm—that is, to reconnoitre, to deceive, and finally to support. Artillery, where not absolutely a drag on operations, as on those of Burgoyne in 1777, was of little tactical value. By howitzers and heavy ordnance a prodigious amount of powder was rapidly exploded, with a very fragmentary tale of ensuing casualties. "The *Orpheus*," says Captain Gardner in his diary,[1] "used up in less than one hour 5376 lbs. of powder," without obvious result. This display of gunnery was given in New York harbour *à propos* of nothing in particular. The *Orpheus* belonged to that huge fleet of Richard, Lord Howe, which cost so much and did so little in American waters, for the guns were inferior, and no powder was then of standard quality.

For these and other reasons the military history of this war offers no spectacular effects, although shrewd tacticians, by their practical inferences from the incidents of this contest, influence the operations of warfare to this day.

[1] 23rd September 1776. Gardner's diary contains brief notices of Richard (Lord) Howe's naval campaign.

The war severs itself into two parts, of which the former closes with the resignation of Howe and the fall of Burgoyne ; the latter comprises the intervention of France in the quarrel, and protracts itself for four dreary years, in which gradually the forces on either side grew to consist either of colonial-born men or of deserters from the British ranks. As in other civil wars, passions waxed in ferocity month by month, and finally, when war subsided through the exhaustion of both combatants, left a trail of bloodshot memories and unappeasable hatred.

Common in all risings of a people is a man, the nucleus of a group of men, who, to the audacity of the courageous bully, adds a touch of ferocious temper. As many men are timid, and most men are lazy, a group of persons, however small, gifted with tenacity of purpose, blessed with a grievance (of which the substantial or unsubstantial nature is a matter of no importance), and furnished with the necessary qualifications invariably win their way.

Some estimable American writers, however, describe their ancestors of 1775 and 1776 as beings, of whom the common world being unworthy, in consequence set about creating a world of their own. Figured as clad in shining garments and with features not merely deftly coloured, but enamelled with chipless enamel, these heroes move onward to their splendid achievements, guiltless of the sordid and repellent doings characteristic of similar movements in Cis-Atlantic lands.

Yet are the facts in support of this superlative word-painting somewhat evasive and elusive. Tarring and feathering, riding malignants on rails, hanging them in batches, freezing them to blocks of Delaware ice to cool their loyalty, coupling them with hands tied

to the tails of horses, to be dragged through forest clearings, hanging and shooting commissioned officers without form of trial, immediately on capture, with other ingenuities of torment and death, are inconsistent with the perfumes, the nard, and the roses certain American writers and their British imitators offer to the *manes* of these men of the great American myth.

Of the evidence of such lamentable doings enough remains to justify a surmise that an unrecorded volume of misery and suffering overwhelmed the unhappy people, who by conviction or temperament were disinclined to support the men whose aim was the Disruption of the British Empire.

And here may be entered a protest against the misrepresentation and obloquy which from pen to pen has pursued the British army in the pages of our foremost literature. Of many offenders, Thackeray is the worst; for example:

"The whole system of the army is something egregious, artificial. The civilian who lives out of it cannot understand it. *It is not like other professions, which require intelligence.*"[1] (Italics mine.)

"A man one degree removed from idiocy, with brains just sufficient to direct his powers of mischief and endurance, may make a distinguished soldier. As to the men, they get the word of command to advance or fall back, and they do it; they are told to strip or to be flogged, and they do it; or to flog, and they do it; to murder or be murdered, and they obey for their food and clothing and twopence a day for their food and tobacco."

This scorn and contempt remains quite unamended

[1] The late C. H. Pearson echoes these aspersions. Cf. Essays, p. 225 (1896).

in his casual papers; he has as much of this mischievous nonsense to belittle the memories of the Guards Brigade after 1855, as in its degree he scattered venomous comment far and wide in the pages of *Punch*, in which, among other elegant remarks, he characterizes the salute to the King's Colours as "a magnificent piece of tomfoolery."

As in many other defects of insight, so in this, he sinks below the level of Scott; yet his influence in the direction of belittling the British soldier remains to this day. So far as relates to the army, *Nihil tetigit quod non inquinavit.*

Notice, too, in the incidents mentioned below the official attitude toward the unhappy men whose blood, shed on every shore, still cries out for reparation.

Some time in the Forties of the last century, a private of the 7th Hussars, then quartered at Hounslow, struck in the face a sergeant of his regiment. About the same time a subaltern of the 4th Dragoon Guards endeavoured with his sabre to cut down the adjutant of that regiment. Both private and officer were, it was alleged, at the time of the outrage under the influence of liquor. What ensued? The private was flogged to death; the officer was, after trial, reprimanded and sent back to his duty. A similar incident occurred in Burgoyne's Expedition from Canada in 1777. The British army was in presence of the enemy. A man of the 9th Regiment, being on outpost duty, left his place for a short excursion into the adjacent bush; his absence was discovered, and next day he was shot.

Within the following week or so, an officer, also on outpost duty, left his place at the call of a woman; his absence was discovered, and the gentle Burgoyne dismissed the delinquent without trial, on being assured

with many protestations that the dear boy would for the future be a good boy.[1]

Here may be remarked how little seventy years, of which forty had been occupied in strenuous warfare in many parts of the globe, had changed the official condition of the British soldier, or the popular conception of his economical value. Consequently Thackeray appears to interpret the opinions of his time, and unhappily gave the great weight of his name to the vulgar notion that the British soldier was by reason of his very calling and office a social pariah employed only "to murder or be murdered."

It is salutary to contrast with this contemptuous treatment of our unknown and still unhonoured defenders of former days the care now taken in the Thirteen Atlantic States to preserve or revive the memorials of every man who served or fell in the field of war during those seven years of contention. Neglected, bullied, and starved as he was by his own contemporaries, the American of the Continental Army is now at last honoured with a recognition which, if somewhat belated, is at least the discharge of a just debt.

Turn we now our attention to the records and writings of the time: the flimsy old newspapers and journals, brown and sere, ready to fall to pieces at a touch; the dreary double columns of the *Annual Register*; the amusing and ill-spelt journals and diaries, Field Books and Orderly Books, sketches and reminiscences. There was an amazing crop of reprints, original essays, orations in Memoriam, and monographs in 1876-1877. The centenary of the Declaration

[1] Cf. Burgoyne's Order Book. Camp near Skenesborough (now Whitehall), September 1777.

of Independence gave birth to scores of memorials from sonnets to statues; additional stonework was put up in Saratoga and on Bunker Hill, and the pretty boy on Concord Bridge then mounted his perpetual guard. There was for subsequent years an issue by bales of reminiscent literature: all the battles were fought anew, superlatives multiplied. Ethan Allen's little band of eighty-three Connecticut Boys, which captured Ticonderoga, is saluted as the band of Immortals; even Gates finds his admirers and apologists.

Unhappily most of these papers are mere superstructures on a basis of older statements contained in works belonging to the republic of letters, or they deal with minimities of which history takes little heed: pedigrees of the heroes of the hour, tending to trace back the warrior to Plymouth Rock and to one of the forty or so craft called *Mayflower*.[1]

Mr. C. K. Bolton of the Athenæum Library, Boston, U.S.A., has a splendid collection of such under his charge; among other matter, the whole of Washington's personal collection of books: a precious responsibility.

The notes in the following pages have been reduced to the lowest denomination consistent with the aim of the book. The crowd of pamphlets, papers, monographs, and essays written for local American Historical Societies are to be used with caution. The number of Historical Societies in the States, which formerly were Colonies, is surprisingly large and active. But the diaries, order books, correspondence, and despatches of the period (1775-1778) in their aggregate are not

[1] Cf. R. G. Marsden, M.A., *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, xvi. p. 89. The historic *Mayflower* has a somewhat elusive record. Beginning life as a whaler, her career a few years later as a slaver was cut short by the Spaniards.

numerous. The Burgoyne Despatches are missing. General Thomas Gage's Papers and Despatches are all (I believe) at Firle, Lewes, and have not as yet been published. Gage was in office in Boston about eighteen months, in a time of great stress and turmoil; his collection of press cuttings, reports, notices, and letters at this most critical period in the Storm-Centre is very complete, and quite invaluable.

There is in our great public libraries a goodly number of *Americana* dealing with the period under consideration. But it is somewhat surprising to have found that the Library of the British Museum possessed but one volume of Lossing's *Field Book*, and that another great library of vast reputation had no copy of Ford's *Washington*, and not the whole of Jared Sparks'. It was yet more disconcerting to find that Bancroft is still in the place of honour in the greatest of libraries. In provincial and sectional libraries there is a remarkable dearth of *Americana*.

At the Record Office, as all students know, the management is most courteous and helpful, and it would be well if all Clinton's Despatches, and the Dartmouth Papers connected with the course of this war, which are practically public documents, were transferred from the quarter in which they are now immured to the Record Office or to the British Museum, where common folk might find them reasonably accessible. In the Royal United Service Institution, to which, and to its secretary, Lieut.-Colonel Leetham, I owe many obligations, may be found a vast amount of information about the unhappy men who in this war perished, whether men of the ship, or men of the regiment. In the valuable Radstock collection of tracts and pamphlets facts of a startling and of a somewhat revolting kind

are disclosed, from men whose statements bear the marks of personal experience. These tracts are for the most part anonymous as became the case of men who had good reason to dread the resentment of unscrupulous and powerful officials. Cf. "Junius' to Sir Wm. Draper.

Much kind help has been requested or offered in connection with this little undertaking. The Viscountess Gage interested herself in searching the papers at Firle, and made numerous extracts, of which the bulk may be found in an appendix to the chapters on the "Storm-Centre," Boston. Lord Gage permitted a copy to be made for this book of the original picture of the Hon. Thomas Gage, now in the dining-room at Firle. Mr. Edmund White of Landport House, Lewes, read over to my great advantage the whole of the slip proofs. Major G. W. Redway read over the chapters dealing with the Forces of the Crown, and with the Continental or Revolutionary Army. Major Redway's own work on the *Second Civil War, or the War of Secession in America*, in the "Special Campaign" Series, made him sympathetic with this attempt to elucidate the difficulties attending a proper appreciation of the Former (Successful) War of Secession. Of American friends I make grateful mention, in the first instance, of Mr. Edward P. Warren, whose help has proved to be of the most efficient nature; then to Miss Warren of the Cedars, Waltham, Massachusetts; and then to Mr. Fiske Warren of Boston, Massachusetts, especially for personal hospitality and consideration during my second visit to America in 1909.

Mr. Charles K. Bolton, librarian of the Athenæum, Boston, has worked on this same subject. His *Private Soldier under Washington* and his edition of *Earl Percy's Diary* are most helpful to any reader interested

in the story of the last Colonial days in the States. He gave me, a stranger and a pilgrim, much courteous guidance in searching through the documents under his charge, and has since interested himself in collecting and sending to me materials. May I also record my sincere thanks to Mr. Harold Murdock, Mr. John Woodbury, both of Boston, to Mr. C. Bliss of Lexington, and to the gentlemen of the Union Club for their notice of me when in their city?

Let me add that the last chapters in this book, dealing with the Expedition from Canada in 1777, were in conciser form delivered as a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall, and have already appeared in the *Transactions* of that Society for January 1911. It is hard for me to express in adequate words my obligations to Lieut.-Colonel Leetham for his interest and encouragement as the work has proceeded.

The maps, for which I am myself directly responsible, and illustrations from various sources have been reproduced, the former by Messrs. Stanfords, and the latter under the direction of the Publishers, who have allowed me a free hand since they undertook the publication of this very untraditional view of the troubles in the Atlantic Colonies when George the Third was king.

To the Printers I wish to express my sense of their punctilious care of the proofs at every stage of preparation for the press.

H. B.

St. Michael's Rectory, Lewes,
*Easter* 1911.

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# CHAPTER I

## SOME CONDITIONS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDENT AND CONCOMITANT

MONSIEUR DE VAUDREUIL, a man whose success in the management of the affairs of his master, the fifteenth Lewis, is not conspicuous, as likewise the Duc de Choiseul, the Comte de Montesquieu, M. de Turgot, to say nothing of Mr. Robertson and many other persons of repute, either discovered or repeated the reflection that the removal of France from her place in the American continent must terminate in the disruption of the English dominions over the seas. These opinions are noticed at some length by Mr. Lecky, and summarised by Mr. J. R. Green, who says:

> By removing an enemy whose dread had knitted the Colonies to the Mother Country, and by breaking through the line with which France had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt had laid the foundation of the Great Republic of the West.

This opinion has now passed into one of the commonplaces of popular fiction.[1] For before 1763 the American Colonies occupied but a strip of ocean borderland furnished with fine capacious harbours, indents of the coast line formed either by estuaries or inlets. There was Massachusetts Bay, of which Boston and the Charles river were the conspicuous features; there was the

[1] It is, for instance, mentioned by Sir George Warrington in *The Virginians*.

estuary with the stream of the Hudson, which running nearly north and south divided the New England States from the Jerseys and the West. There were the great and wide channels by which the Delaware and the Chesapeake reached the Atlantic, to say little about the broken coast line trending southward and westward; the sea border of Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia. No European king, however, had such a grip of the Great Northern Continent as had the king of France. From Anticosti at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence, and so up that noble stream past Quebec and Hochelaga, ascending the rapids into Lake Ontario and thence from Niagara in a somewhat irregular line down to Pensacola and the eastward delta of the Mississippi ran the French frontier, leaving England a strip of coastwise country varying from 300 to 700 miles in depth.

France in fact held all that vast land with its incalculable potentialities, the interminable forests, the grazing grounds, the enormous wheat fields, which stretch like an ocean westwards and southwards, a country whose resources no man's wildest dreams have encompassed; a territory that but for the insolent mendacity of Lewis XIV., and his breach of solemn pledges in connection with the Succession to the Spanish Crown, might have remained under French influence to this day. An Empire of the West which, stricken and mortally wounded by Marlborough at Blenheim in 1704, crumbled to pieces half a century later on the St. Lawrence. When after the Peace of Paris the last of the troops captured at Quebec left for France in British vessels, the work of Cartier and Champlain passed into other hands.

The New feeling.

Colonial merchants and lawyers now began to feel their place in the world enlarged. They had owed their safety and the defence of their frontier against Indian tribes and Frenchmen to the navy and army of Great Britain. It is now admitted that the Colonies, whatever their power and resources might

be, failed to check the steady insidious advance of the Canadian or French Government southwards towards the Hudson. It is equally certain that the Quakers and Lutherans of Pennsylvania made feeble efforts to defend their borderland and its settlers from the raids and atrocities of the Indians. In Pennsylvania Quakers carried their principles so far, as on more than one occasion to refuse any contribution towards the maintenance of the little handful of troops that patrolled the Indian line. At the same time, as good men of business, they were ready to avail themselves of any turn of events to win an honest penny. Hence among one of the earliest moans of the Continental Congress of 1775 assembled in Philadelphia, is that sundry citizens, with a defective sense of patriotism, had in that prosperous city created a corner in military boots. Nor had Virginia, which was neither Lutheran nor Quaker, acted with the vigour tradition imputes to that wealthy and High Church community. Major George Washington, at the age of twenty years, was entrusted with the care of 250 miles of frontier, a task for which his chiefs supplied him with neither men nor money. On that duty he saw things which, reticent and self-controlled man as he ever was, inspired him with such horror that he says he would prefer to die a hundred times rather than see such things again. But it appears doubtful whether the planters and cotton squires of Virginia had not their hands too full at home to be able to go abroad in pursuit of adventure. The Virginian aristocracy were both very proud and very rich, but both their pride and their wealth were imperilled by the very foundation of their social system. Half the population of Virginia consisted of black men in perpetual servitude or of white men in partial servitude. The negroes appear to have been of a most savage and turbulent kind, men torn from their homes by treachery or war and sold into a distant slavery in-

volving incessant toil and hardship. The planters of Virginia lived in secret terror of servile revolt. The whole system, whether of white servitude or black slavery, being of the brutal kind, was certain to engender reprisals. Bond servants, convicts, and negroes surrounded on every side the Virginian gentleman, his wife and daughters; both he and they had reason to entertain a dread of the people on whose labour their wealth depended. Plots for the total destruction of the white population were not infrequent, of which, although generally the details have been hushed up, an occasional mention has reached us. Such outbreaks were repressed by a ruthless hand. The insurgents, hunted down like game, were broken on the wheel or burnt alive. Consequently the Virginian squire dared not move far from home, for, whatever was his propensity for the wild experience of Indian bush fighting on the Ohio, his tastes and talents in such a direction were more usefully employed in organised vigilance on his own estate. Virginia was probably of all the Colonies most exposed to the terrors of a servile outbreak. Her people comprised the highest proportion of men and women in the servile condition. But revolt was not confined within her borders; perhaps one of the worst of the slave risings took place early in the century in the province of New York.[1]

In New England, however, the general inactivity on the frontier was less excusable, for it was along the southern trails, from Quebec by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George, that the French advance was the most insidious and dangerous. Had the French succeeded in winning what Burgoyne twenty years later attempted in vain, that is, the command of the Hudson, the Eastern States must have been annexed to Canada. That the French should have been permitted to occupy and fortify almost to

[1] Fourteen negroes were burned alive, twenty hanged, during a servile panic in New York in 1741. Besides these coloured men twenty white serfs were executed or imprisoned.

impregnability positions so naturally strong as Ticonderoga and Crown Point, witnesses emphatically to the apathy or carelessness of the people of New England during the years that followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Careless of their interests, or 1748.
at least entrusting their interests to the desultory protection of the Crown, the thirteen Colonies had been equally remiss in other directions. The royal Governors had again and again striven to excite something like an American or national feeling in the Provincial Assemblies. They had endeavoured to create the semblance of a common policy, and to establish a common fund for defensive operations along the vastly extended frontier, but the sour jealousies of the towns and counties made a barrier impenetrable to progress in the direction of mutual understanding. In some English-speaking communities there exists an approach to homogeneity of race, or modes of thought, and of action, but in the thirteen Colonies the variety of nation and speech affected the proceedings and policy of the Colonials. Of the Puritan origin of New England every one is aware. New York was, according to a speaking phrase, Dutch on the ground floor, but contained on higher levels at least eighteen different nationalities. Philadelphia was in the hands of German Lutherans or English Quakers. Maryland had been founded with the most liberal of all constitutions by Lord Baltimore as a place of refuge for the Roman Catholics of the empire. Virginia was settled by poor Englishmen of good birth, who, like the men of Maryland, were so overburdened with slavery as to be incapable of doing much more than look after their dangerous property. The Virginian and Maryland lords were much of the Squire Western type; men who drank and swore, and lived in the open air, having little or no education and less means of acquiring it. The noblest of all Virginians, Mr. Washington, received what is called an English education, that is, instruction in read-

ing, writing, and figures. It is alleged that Mr. Washington, at nineteen, being the Adjutant-General of Virginia, could neither spell nor write according to the accepted standards, and that his copious correspondence of later years was occasionally edited for him by the most assiduous of secretaries.[1] Drawn from so many sources of population and possessed of such divergent views of religion, education, and policy, the task of effecting a military coalition presented insuperable difficulties. Yet at the period of the Canadian-French progress along the Ohio, the dangers of a not very remote future incited an attempt to unify or federate the thirteen states. The scattered handfuls of troops, assisted by the sturdy and resourceful settlers on the back frontier land, were not equal to the task of stemming the tide of French encroachments. It is due to the memory of thousands of nameless men of obscure birth ever to bear in mind that before the Canadian descent along the Ohio took place, the integrity of the back frontiers had been maintained by Ulstermen of Scotch antecedents; men whose industry had in a former time established thriving woollen and linen manufactures in the North of Ireland, but who, by the sycophancy of an Irish Parliament, the folly of a British Ministry, and the jealousy of English manufacturers, had been expelled from the land which their industry had enriched and ennobled. It is now well understood that the germ of the Separationist movement sprouted first on this congenial backwoods soil. These men in thousands crossed the Atlantic, and

[1] More, I think, has been made out of his bad spelling and grammar than the facts warrant. President Jared Sparks edited Washington's Letters, with corrections, rearrangements, and summaries, by a method not now held admissible. Ford's edition of the Writings gives the letters exactly as penned. No conspicuous bad spelling occurs, although in the Valley Forge Orderly Book there are frequent lapses from standard spelling: on the other hand these errors may be due to General George Weeden, who had been an innkeeper. But see a few instances in Chapter IX. on the Revolutionary Army, vol. ii. p. 2.

entering the continent by way of the Hudson or the Delaware, spread themselves along the territory southwards and westwards from the beautiful valley of the Mohawk to land almost within touch of the Spanish settlements. Most vigilant of frontiersmen, who checked the raids of the Indians with such efficiency that of their own resources, sacrifices, and skill, they kept within strict bounds the men of the forest, as long as the men of the forest had no allies. A glance at a map will show that to the westward of the English Colonies from Northern Pennsylvania to Southern Georgia is a range known as the Alleghany Mountains. Beyond these mountains lay the unknown. The Indian warrior accordingly found a place of retreat and refreshment inaccessible to his European foes, who lay to the eastward of the Alleghanies in a thin line of settlements parallel to the spine of the mountains. In those days the Indian fought the white man on equal terms as to weapons, and on superior conditions as to skill in forest fighting. He was keener on the track, more silent, lived on less, took cover like a fox, and had all the fighting qualities of a cat; he did not hazard danger, for he reckoned his own life his best possession, but given that battle was inevitable he fought equally with hand and brain, and had a feline taste in torture. The Indian warriors, according to men keenly observant of their ways and works, were equal man to man to the frontiersmen; and, reinforced by French Canadians and commanded by French officers, they outmatched the backwoodsmen, whether of New England or of Virginia. The danger arose to the point of calling for combined action to roll back the invaders over the frontier. But the Colonies would not combine. A plan or scheme of union was devised for promotion of the common welfare, and a convention met in 1753 at Albany, close over against the Mohawk country, to consider French encroachments, and to devise means and methods of resistance. The draft of a constitu-

tion was completed and sent round for consideration. Connecticut objected because the scheme if matured would put too much power into the hands of the Crown. It was urged that the disunion of the Colonies was itself contributory to the abatement of the royal prerogative. The objection of Connecticut was sustained. Other reasons, too, played an important part in marring this scheme. Some States looked upon their neighbours with an unfriendly eye. They treated them as foreign communities. Virginia taxed the tobacco of Carolina. Pennsylvania had taxed the products of Maryland, New Jersey, and of Delaware. These fiscal enterprises aroused a conflict of interests, and established the class of vested rights naturally hostile to co-operation. Under debate, the scheme fell to pieces. The lapse of forty years after a seven years' war with France, and another seven years' war with Great Britain, found the next generation of Americans little further advanced in the settlement of the question. So far as the immediate issues before the Colonies in 1753 were involved, that is, the checking of the annexation by the French of the valley of the Ohio, and their domination of the waterway southward from the lakes to the Hudson, it was tacitly resolved to let Great Britain do the requisite fighting and supply the requisite funds, while it was hoped the local assemblies might from time to time add a quota of men and a little money. The Seven Years' War terminated with great glory for the British nation, a huge addition to the nation's debt, and keen dissatisfaction about the terms of peace.[1] To leave to France the right of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence after the expulsion of the French from Canada was an error that has entailed trouble of the pin prick kind to this day. The restoration of Cuba and the Philippines

[1] Readers may compare the riotous and sanguinary demonstrations in Japan against the Peace of Portsmouth (Me) at the end of the Russo-Japanese War in August 1905. Cf. Captain Semenoff's *Diary*, p. 86.

after conquest, with other items of concession and abandonment, to say nothing of an additional sixty millions of debt, made Englishmen question what profit had accrued to the country in return for so much loss of life and expenditure of money. In the cold light of retrospect it began to be seen that the conquest of Canada, the exclusion of the French from North America, was all to the advantage of the Colonies. Remote from the contingencies of European dissensions, now that France had ceased to have a footing within American borders, and free to develop backwards from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, with vast resources newly liberated from the grasp of a powerful and ambitious nation, the American Colonies appeared to be the real prize-winners of the great war game. The quarrel was an American quarrel, the provocations to combat were local and were of little imperial interest, yet the contest had been waged for the Colonists by the Mother Country at vast expense, with the consequence, as it was now seen, that to the thirteen little States on the Atlantic border the whole of America between the 30th and the 46th parallels had accrued—all the fruits of British prowess and pertinacity.

Impatience of Taxation.

That these thirteen fortunate children, so richly dowered by this boundless reversionary wealth, should now do something to aid the parent country to sustain her increased burdens was felt to be due to the services of the one and the self-respect of the other. But as most obligations are convertible into expression in money, this new obligation suggested taxation. Yet taxation by any form of impost, fiscal or direct, Colonial communities had never tolerated. All the revenue laws had been reduced to futility by an elaborate and all-embracing system of smuggling. Taxes authorised by Provincial Assemblies cannot be collected when every one resists payment. When the Continental Congress came into being in 1774, and began to devise ways and means to maintain an army in the

field, it had recourse to the creation of money by the printing press. It had no authority to levy taxes, and had no means of enforcing collection. When at the close of the war the question arose how the disbandment of the revolutionary army was to be accomplished, arrears of pay to be met, and pensions granted, it was suggested that a tax of sixpence, as a kind of poll-tax, should be made and enforced in every State, to which suggestion it was objected that every citizen would at once become a kind of Wat Tyler, ready to smite the revenue collector with axe or hammer. Practically no American man had ever paid regular taxes in aid of his provincial government, much less had ever paid or been called upon to pay imperial taxes. He was in the anomalous position of having representation without taxation. The evidence for this extraordinary state of things is irrefutable, and is summarised in a passage of Dr. Francis Walker's *Making of the Nation*. Of the attitude of the States towards taxation after the Seven Years' War he writes:

> The war had left a debt which was very formidable, according to the standards of those days, and the recurring interest charges required a large and constant income in addition to all that was needed for the support of the offices and services of peace. Instead of responding cheerfully and promptly to the calls upon them, the States vied with each other in delinquency, each making the delay of its neighbours to pay their quotas an excuse for their own tardiness. Thus delinquency grew to be a habit and was almost esteemed to be a virtue. As each State was afraid it should pay more than others, the most backward set the pace for all.
>
> Our fathers at the close of the Revolution were not an impoverished people. They were able to give all that was demanded of them.

In a footnote to this illuminating passage the author states in illustration that this spirit also survived the Revolution, that from requisitions made from 1st of November 1781 to 1st of January 1786 less than two

and a half millions was paid on a demand amounting to ten millions.[1]

This impatience of taxation, with the mean and vulgar shifts the evasion of taxation promotes, had in pre-Revolutionary times expressed itself in that system of robbery known as irredeemable paper money. Many Colonies issued paper bills to the value of sixpence or even of twopence. Facsimiles of these bills may be seen in the now numerous reprints of documents illustrative of Colonial history. Colonial paper accumulated in some houses so copiously that there were boxes of notes and bills among the refuse of the Manor House lumber rooms. The States, even prosperous and flourishing communities like Virginia and Massachusetts, issued bills for the redemption of which no provision of money was made, but marked them as irredeemable, and printed on the face of a Promise to pay Sixpence, "Death to Counterfeit." It is obvious these notes were as valuable as the wrappage paper of a prospectus. Yet the spirit animating the little Commonwealths, which dishonestly entered upon this system of fictitious values, found its fuller expression when the Revolution demanded a larger expenditure. Congress immediately, whether in Philadelphia or Baltimore, used the one printing press at command, to put out a fresh issue of paper money, since well known as Continental, to distinguish it from the Provincial issues. In course of time the officials entrusted with these issues were reproached with being too lazy to sign the bills, while their apologists retorted that the officers were not numerous enough to affix the multitudes of signatures requisite. Ultimately no record was

[1] F. A. Walker, Ph.D., p. 9 (ed. 1896). This opinion echoes Mr. Greg's view expressed some years before: "Each colony was so jealous of her neighbours, so anxious to overreach them, so disposed to exaggerate their liabilities, and to minimise her own, that no common agreement was possible."—*History of the United States*, ch. xi. p. 115. The feelings precedent to the war were not extinguished by its successful issue. See further Roosevelt, *New York*, pp. 106, 107.

kept of the nominal amounts, so that there were floating about, credits representing, to use the language of a well-known financier, a big figure with as many noughts following as can be printed into a line. Accordingly it was said that to buy a waggon-load of provisions a man required a waggon-load of money, while it was a not uncommon way of expressing contempt for the Congress and the Whig Continental Ministry to make bonfires of their paper, as was done by the Tories in 1776 on the occasion of the landing of Sir William Howe on Long Island.[1]

To estimate the real inwardness of the outcry against the imposition of the Stamp Act, the facts sketched briefly and in outline in the foregoing passage must be kept in view. Before we touch on the violent agitation which greeted the Stamp Act in November 1763, attention must be directed to the vast and carefully organised system of smuggling.

Smuggling.

Smuggling in the eighteenth century was a respectable and profitable occupation. Its perils and profits made it attractive; its system of "free trade" made it popular. Nowhere in the empire, with perhaps the exception of Scotland, was it more an accepted part of the social organisation affecting the distribution of higher class goods than in the American Colonies. Mr. Burke, in his well-known Apology for the insurgent Colonies, makes it a point that smuggling was so general everywhere in Great Britain, from John o' Groats to the Lizard, that it was ungenerous to insist upon the smuggling delinquencies of his clients across the Atlantic. Mr. Burke beyond all question had reams of evidence in support of this contention. From the Thames northward and around by the Forelands westward, notoriously

[1] There had never been much hard money circulating in the Colonies. In Virginia tobacco was the legal tender; parsons' stipends were paid in tobacco; elsewhere skins or cotton made a kind of currency. But these cumbrous devices gave way before paper money. The Crown, in vain, tried to check extravagant issues of paper money. This attempt was saved up for reference on a later day, as proving the tyranny of the Crown.

in Sussex, and so along all British coasts, into every navigable creek, cove, or cranny, the hardy smugglers swarmed.. Their audacity and often their cruelty knew no bounds; sometimes they murdered the preventive officers; sometimes they broke into the Custom Houses. The murder of Galley and Chater near Chichester by Sussex smugglers was completed under circumstances of singular barbarity,[1] and the storming of the Poole Custom House by Dorset smugglers was carried out successfully with every mark of approval from a large bystanding crowd of country folk. In the latter case a cargo of tea having been captured from a "free trade" cutter, the prize was stowed in the Customs warehouse. But sixty men attacked the store, recaptured the cargo, and rode off with their booty amidst the cheers of the people. Similar proceedings elsewhere testified to the popularity of the smuggler. The justice of the peace, the rector of the parish, the town clerk, the mayor, the overseers of the poor, the parochial beadle, were all according to their degree "squared" by the master smuggler. A parcel of ribbons, or a bit of lace for madam, an anker of brandy left in the shrubbery handy to the house, an offering for his worship, or his reverence, secured the "free trader" from fussy interference with his game. The subject has an attraction for some writers of romance, who dwell on both the perils and profits of the pursuit with a certain sympathetic tenderness. Yet was the practice of smuggling "a great snare and a great curse." Tea, hollands, tobacco, rum, brandy, and Spanish wines, together with the more costly sorts of women's gear, constituted the staple of this trade. The tea trade was operated from Guernsey by a thousand various routes. It was so successful that at least seven million pounds of tea came into the country duty free. When Mr. Pitt practically abolished the tax on tea, all contraband importation of tea ceased,

[1] W. D. Cooper, F.S.A., in vol. x. *Sussex Archæological Collections.*

yet smuggling of other commodities continued with gradually decaying fortunes until 1856, when the last affray of importance between smugglers and coast-guardmen took place in Rye harbour, in which no less than 200 armed smugglers took part.

The Mercantile System.

In Great Britain the scheme of taxation was fiscal in principle and imposed for revenue purposes; in the American Colonies the scheme of taxation was based upon a system of bounties, regulations, and restrictions of trade, which historically is known as the Mercantile System. To understand the extent and inwardness of American smuggling, we must devote our attention to a brief examination of this system. We look back to the days of the Protectorate, to the Navigation Acts by which Cromwell forbade the coastwise or narrow sea carriage of British products and the transit of colonial goods except in British vessels, and of foreign goods in vessels not belonging to the land of their production. Thus, a Portuguese craft might not load up Spanish oranges for consignment to Southampton, nor a Dutch ship convey China tea to the London river, nor a West Indian built brig bring Virginian tobacco to Bristol. This is the chief of a long series of Acts of which the main tendency was to whittle away the concessions or limited privileges accorded to foreigners, until at last came about the total prohibition of imports into English and Colonial harbours, except in English or Colonial built ships, of which at least four-fifths of the crews should be English born, and under an English master and an English mate.

2 Car. II. 1651.

The best heads of the eighteenth century down to Adam Smith's time believed in, or at any rate acted upon, this system as a truth as fixed as Prometheus to his rock. With a view to the enrichment of London and Bristol and Glasgow shippers, and to sustain the landed interest as well, it was thought wise to forbid the Americans to manufacture woollen goods, even for inter-colonial trade; they were forbidden to forge or cast iron,

to make any spike, nail, or bolt, to construct any mill for rolling steel, or furnace for smelting. The peltry of the beaver they might not fashion into hats; not even for home wear. A large number of restrictions of a like kind affected trade in tea, sugar, rum, molasses, and other commodities. The notion was that the Colonies should produce the raw materials, ship them in English or Colonial built ships to British ports, for manufacture into finished products, which, being reshipped under the same conditions, might be carried to Boston or New York, or to any place to which a British ship was free to enter.[1] Thus every pound of tea sold in King Street, Boston, had passed through the ceremonial of coming away from the East in an East Indiaman (say) to Falmouth, where it was transhipped into an English bottom, and so reached the Boston or New York grocer. Every separate handling of the tea, having entailed some item of taxation and an item of middle profit in transit, added to the cost of the tea. If madam preferred Dutch tea to China tea, or Java coffee to West Indian coffee; or if her husband preferred a Cuban cigar, or a Manilla to Virginia twist, both the lady and the gentleman were under the Mercantile System denied the indulgence of their simple tastes. But for the Colonies at least, the Mercantile System was of the nature of a legal fiction, for as a candid American authority truly says: "They manufactured whatever they found to be to their advantage, and sent their ships wherever they pleased notwithstanding the Navigation Laws and Acts of Trade." In fact, they drove not merely the proverbial coach and four through the 29 enactments of the Statute Book, but a full-rigged ship. Every one in England whose

[1] This notion reappears in Mr. Cobden's contention that Free Trade is sound trade, based upon the idea that Great Britain would naturally be the manufacturing centre and the distributor of the finished goods, while the rest of the world would go on growing raw materials to supply the British factories; all course of trade to be unhampered by fiscal laws or customs.

interests lay in any degree among the Colonists appears to have been very well acquainted with this condition of things. Mr. Burke refers to this knowledge as a well-established fact, although he is inclined to doubt its accuracy; he thinks the Navigation Acts were on the whole well obeyed. It is, however, certain that prior to 1763 the Navigation Acts were mere *bruta fulmina*.

"If we could raise from the mud," says Mr. Fisher, "any one of our ancestors' curiously rigged ships, with her high turreted stem, her queer little mast out on the bowsprit, her lateen sail, and all these contrivances which made her only a slight advance on the old *Mayflower* which brought such vast cargoes of ancestors and old china to Massachusetts, we would be tolerably safe in labelling her 'smuggler'; most of our ships were engaged in that profitable business."[1]

Accordingly the Colonial trade with all parts of the trading world was brisk. The Navigation Acts forbade a Boston ship to carry rum or molasses to Lisbon, or to bring away wines and fruits for a return freight, but the Boston ship performed these services notwithstanding. The Colonial adventurers in fact did exactly whatever it suited them to do. The theory Englishmen entertained, that their Colonies were to work with them on co-operative lines for commercial purposes against the rest of the world, and expressed in statutes and regulations, was accepted with a bow and a flourish by the Colonial administrations and promptly disregarded by Colonial merchants. Hence everything operated in favour of the Colonial speculative adventurer. He enjoyed British naval protection, he possessed the monopoly of the British market, he drew bounties from the British exchequer, he purchased European goods more cheaply than the British people could do, consequently his prosperity advanced by leaps and bounds. All the cream of the system was skimmed off by the Virginian

[1] Cf. S. G. Fisher, *True History of the American Revolution*, p. 38 (the statement is repeated in Mr. Fisher's *The Struggle for Independence*); and cf. Mellen Chamberlain, in Justin Winsor, vi. 10.

or the New England trader. The quiet pipe of the British fireside was filled with Virginian tobacco, for Virginia had the monopoly of tobacco in Great Britain, while the Virginian pipe was filled with whatever weed the smoker preferred—Spanish, Dutch, or the native growth. In fact, the Colonists accepted all enactments or monopolies working in their own favour, obeyed and observed none of the enactments restrictive of their own operations, and proceeded, as regards the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, very much on the principle of "heads I win, tails you lose." Hauling in trade and its profits in this way with both hands, they prospered exceedingly.

"Nothing," cried Mr. Burke in his fervour of admiration, "in the history of mankind is like their progress. For my part I never cast an eye on this flourishing commerce, and this cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me rather ancient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a strain of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the Colonies of yesterday, than a set of miserable outcasts a few years ago, on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness three thousand miles from all civilised intercourse."[1]

But whatever spectacled gaze of admiration the famous orator turned upon the slim merchants of New York and Boston, it is certain the merchants of Great Britain began to look sideways at their trading kinsfolk over the water. The position was not unlike that of the rate-aided tramway against the competing railway company. The latter has to pay enormous sums as compulsory rates to keep its competitors in the field of competition. Thus British merchants found themselves bound by agreements and regulations, which they at least were compelled to obey, while maintaining by heavy taxation a large fleet to protect their overseas trade. Of this protection the

[1] Speech of Mr. Burke on American Taxation; cf. also J. A. Doyle on *Trade Restrictions and Smuggling*, in Cambridge Modern History, vi. 67.

Colonial merchants had full benefit, while they broke through like so much packthread the restrictions and regulations which, being constructed for mutual advantage, were as binding on them as on the British merchants. Much is to be read of the "tyranny" of these Acts of Trade in American oratory of the Revolutionary period. Surely the speakers must have had their tongue in their cheek during these spirited invectives. Later writers of the Bancroft school are eloquent on the same topic. Recent American writers have abandoned the analysis of these enactments which, in the hands of the men of the Atlantic settlements of the eighteenth century, became as futile as the sentences of the Red Queen in Wonderland.

The consequences of this absolute disregard of laws made and provided, may be exemplified from the course of the American tea trade. This beverage, until it became patriotic to use bad language about it, rapidly attained a very high degree of popularity throughout the Colonies. The well-known appreciation of the herb by English people spread to the Germans, the Swedes, the Dutch, and the Irish; even to the red men, whose squaws of the Long House learned to brew a dish of tea. The consumption of tea was, therefore, so great as to reckon up in millions of pounds. It has been already mentioned that about half the tea used in Great Britain was contraband, but in the Colonies not one-tenth of this commodity paid duty. Illicit trading had then, by its general impunity and the amount of capital absorbed in its promotion, ceased to be a perilous occupation. Merchants had for nearly a century pursued this class of business without molestation, and broadly speaking, the principle of *Mos pro lege* had in their opinion converted unlawful proceedings into prescriptive rights.

The Stamp Act, 1763.

In 1763 Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) requested the Commissioners of Stamps to prepare for the consideration of the Lords of the Treasury a draft Act (*sic*) for the imposition of Stamp duties upon the

American Colonies and the West Indies. The notion of taxing the American colonies had been floating about for some time. Sir Robert Walpole had rejected the idea as mischievous. The wisdom of Sir Robert Walpole in refusing to tax the Colonies is often mentioned by way of implied condemnation of Grenville thirty years later. But it is obvious that a policy commendable in 1733 may have been most unsuitable for 1763; for heavy debts accumulated by the struggle for Canada had not yet been incurred. The expulsion of the French had quite altered the complexion of our relations with our kinsfolk across the ocean.

The Ministry was seriously misled about the acceptance of this Stamp duty in America. Ministers made enquiries from many of their Governors with a view to avoiding serious legislative mistakes. The Governors of Massachusetts, of Virginia, of New York, of Maryland, advised the enactment of a Stamp tax. They reckoned it to be a quiet, easy, cheap, and automatic way of collecting revenue. It was thought to be a harmless tax. A licence to sell spirits carried in the proposed schedule of taxation the moderate stamp of 20s.; there was a shilling tax on a pack of cards; for a copy of a will sixpence was charged, while the stamps on lawyers' documents and pleadings were of the most reasonable money values. Institution to a benefice, or admission to a degree, carried a stamp of £2. These items selected from the General Scale demonstrate both the objects or doings taxed, and the general scope of the taxes. Ministers expressed themselves in no hurry to come to a settlement, so little did they anticipate the ferment excited by their proposition. It has been customary to blame the Ministry for their unwisdom, for their lack of foresight. But these criticisms are of those that ripen after failure.

Ministers had reasonable grounds for surmising that a proposition, supported by the Governors in the Colonies and commended by political writers in American

cities, would meet with no serious opposition. It is true that Franklin after the Bill had become law, stated under examination by the House of Commons, that the people of America would tolerate no imposition by Parliament of what he called an *Internal* tax, whatever might be their attitude towards External taxation. And, as much was said at the time and has been said since about External and Internal taxation, Franklin's own account of the difference may be quoted:

Q.—You say the Colonies have always submitted to External taxes, and object to the right of Parliament only in levying Internal taxes; now, can you show that there is any kind of difference between the two taxes?

A.—I think the difference is very great. An External tax is a duty laid on commodities imported: that duty is added to the first cost, and other charges on the commodity, and when it is offered to sale makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an Internal tax is forced upon the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The Stamp Act says we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase, nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sum, and then it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it.[1]

So far Franklin; as to which answer it may be pointed out, that the "Boston" Indians made short work of Franklin's distinction between External and Internal taxation by the tea riots in 1773; while the ruinous nature of the tax on conveyancing may be gathered from the fees, which range from *sixpence* to *five shillings*, inclusive of such charges as 2s. 3d. for

[1] Franklin before the House of Commons, 13th February 1766. Q. 59. At Q. 156 Franklin broke down, and speaking for Pennsylvania, which had condemned assessment on any scale of Parliamentary taxation, explained that Pennsylvanians did not use language in the same sense as the English did; thus when a Pennsylvanian said *all* taxes he really meant *some* taxes. Dr. Franklin's examination made on the whole a weak impression.

a deed of mortgage, and 3d. on a declaration or pleading. This differentiation between External and Internal taxation, moreover, crumbled away on examination; it was pulverised by his questioners in the course of the House of Commons' enquiry. For as a matter of fact the Colonies had, by a Statute of Parliament for the recovery of debts, made in 1732, surrendered the whole principle of the Internal taxation. And on this remarkable enactment Mr. S. G. Fisher's comments are entirely prudent and sensible.

The Act of Parliament of 1732 provided that "all lands, goods, and negro slaves in America should at all times be liable to seizure and sale for debt, just as if they were in England." An enormous trade and commerce sprang up, it was said, under the protection of the Act; for otherwise the English merchants would have refused to give the Colonies long credit, and the Colonists, having little money of any kind in circulation except depreciated paper, would have been unable to trade. But under the Act they reaped a greater harvest than the English merchants, and accordingly they never protested or objected to it as exercising jurisdiction over private property. They never asked that they should first be represented in Parliament, and never complained of want of representation. The Act of 1732.

If, therefore, it was argued, Parliament could without the consent of Colonial legislatures levy taxes on goods coming into ports, and at the same time enact a law for taking seisin of property for the payment of debts to British merchants, the former an *External*, the latter an *Internal* measure, what becomes of the distinction between the *External* and the *Internal* taxation? There is no such distinction, and when this distinction was recognised as a fictitious one, Patriots then took up new ground—they denied all authority and power to Parliament.[1]

[1] Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham), speaking in 1766, maintained there is a clear distinction between External and Internal

They took the ground that any taxation of the Colonies by Parliamentary process was invalid on the plea that having no representation at Westminster they had in no degree consented to the legislation covering or authorising this or any other Finance Bill; that if a man has not assented or consented to a law, he is not bound by that law, and that to enforce his obedience to the execution of such law or laws is a fundamental infringement of natural right. This proposition formed a part of an argument of Mr. John Adams in defence of his friend Hancock in 1774 on an indictment for smuggling; it has been used of late in defence of violent breaches of the law by women in London; it has been pleaded in justification of assassination of English officials by Indian Bachelors of Arts; it is a plea which, pressed home by every man exasperated or embittered by compulsion to obedience, would reduce all coherent legislation to a heap of waste paper. In urging this plea Colonial patriots were insincere, with an insincerity that probably was unconscious. Representation in the British Parliament for or in support of Colonial interests meets even at this day obstacles well-nigh insuperable; in 1765 the obstacles were absolutely insuperable. There was no cohesion in the States themselves, they had no constructive policy as a basis of common action. They could unite for demands, for censure, for resistance to the executive, for concerted chorusing of their rights and privileges; they were as a band of brothers in denying concessions, and in the pursuit of any project operative against Great Britain. When, however, the corresponding and proportionate counteraction began, and burdens were to be taken up, they all with one consent began to make excuse. Again

taxation. The former are taxes for revenue, the latter are taxes for the regulation of trade, and thus stand clear of each other. But as all money from taxes comes into the Common Fund of a nation, the distinction in thought vanishes in fact. Cf. Stanhope, *History of England*, v. 129 *seqq.*

and again between 1774 and 1789 the Colonial States found themselves unable to agree on any settled line of operations. Each State regarding itself as a kind of sovereign power, arrogated the right of repudiation for itself of obligations incurred provisionally on its behalf by the General Congress. This state of disintegration, whereby neighbouring States in their mutual hatred rejected all overtures for combined work, hardened during this struggle for Independence, so that the last condition of the Thirteen Colonies was worse than the first. No sooner, for instance, was the Peace of 1783 ratified by both contracting parties than the separate State Legislatures began to repudiate the obligations imposed by the accepted terms of peace. When the transports, eastward bound, bore away from New York Sir Henry Clinton and the British army, each State proceeded to tear up every part of the Treaty which accorded to Great Britain or to British subjects any advantage. Thus; it had been agreed that British creditors should be allowed to collect private debts in the Atlantic States. It now goes without saying among people or nations with the most nebulous ideas of personal honour, that no man requires the authority or coercion of special statutes or stipulations to enforce the payment of his debts. But the American legislatures, amidst every sign of public approval, robbed the British creditor of his just dues; the moist pen policy, afterwards advocated in times of local stress in Philadelphia saloon bars and New York boarding-houses, had the high sanction of State legislatures in the ninth decade of the eighteenth century.

Moreover, the Thirteen States proceeded further; they went on to

. . . indulge themselves in the costly luxury of an internecine tariff war. The States with seaports preyed upon their land-locked brethren and provoked a boycott in return. Pennsylvania attacked Delaware. Connecticut was oppressed by Rhode Island and New York. New Jersey, lying between New

York on one hand and Pennsylvania on the other, was compared to a cask tapped at both ends.[1]

The States, as has already been mentioned, had done this kind of thing before the War, and had learned no wisdom by their disastrous experience; in a word, their mutual jealousies and sour distrust of each other rendered corporate union impracticable. From this point of view the little agitation about Parliamentary representation, and the various schemes and plans for sending Colonial men to Westminster appears to be of the same weight as the opinions arrived at by a parish debating society. As a matter of fact it soon evaporated. It was perceived by the finer and more instructed minds that there were very firm foundations for the opinion that as a matter of law the Parliament (that is, the king in parliament assembled) had power to bind the Colonies. Obviously if the king in parliament assembled has not the ultimate supreme authority over every part of the Empire there is no Empire.

"It is clear," says an eminent Colonial authority on constitutional law, "that imperial acts are binding upon the Colonial subjects of the Crown, as much as upon all other British subjects, whenever by express provision or by necessary intendment they relate to or concern the Colonies."[2]

Dr. Todd thus lays down the principle, which, re-enacted by the British Parliament in 1865, had been a century before maintained by Hutchinson, when Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, and by Lord Mansfield, Chancellor of the Realm; a principle confirmed equally by the matured judgments of highly-placed American constitutional lawyers. Mr. Pitt (Chatham) in 1776, in a speech supporting the Repeal of the Stamp Act, maintained the supremacy of Parliament.

[1] F. S. Oliver, in *Alexander Hamilton*, ch. iv., "Disorder and Anarchy."

[2] Dr. Alpheus Todd, Parliamentary Librarian for the Dominion of Canada, *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*, p. 169.

"I am," said he, "no courtier of America. I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the Colonies is sovereign and supreme."

On points of dry law, therefore, the Ministry and their supporters and friends in America appear to have been on the right side of the fence. But a closer examination of the general facts of the ten years preceding the Declaration of Independence, with due allowance made for the unconscious movements of opinion in times of turbulent excitement, seems to reveal the impotence of Constitutional custom or practice in control of a Revolutionary movement. During the short reign of the Stamp Act most Americans were in opposition to the policy of the Ministry; Galloway and Jones,[1] men of high place and influence, as well as the political adventurers of Boston and Philadelphia, deprecated the action of the Ministry in imposing this tax. But Galloway and Jones, with Seabury and Leonard, whom we shall meet further on, in the course of this agitation for Independence, were not of the class of politician which, to use a homely illustration furnished by an eminent philosopher, "cuts a boy's head off to cure him of squinting." A blunder or two in the management of affairs of a country so remote from Westminster as was America in those days did not seem adequate reason to the solid and prosperous citizens of the Colonies why amicable relations between the Crown and the Colonies should not be maintained. On the other hand, the loyal or British party, whom it became the fashion to call the Tories, admitted that the time was ripe for some readjustment of political arrangements.

[1] Thomas Jones, Chief-Justice of the Province of New York, cf. *History of New York during Revolution*, i. 18. Joseph Galloway was nine years Speaker of the Legislative House of Pennsylvania; he was of the best type of American: he joined Franklin in his endeavours to wrest Pennsylvania from the control of the Penns. He was a strenuous opponent of the Stamp Act.

It was felt that a large and judicious measure of Home Rule was now demanded; in fact, the time had come when the American man, they said, while anxious to maintain imperial partnership, should become the predominant partner in the management of his domestic or local affairs.

Galloway, in the first Continental Congress in 1774, brought forward a plan or scheme for the government of the Colonies, which Professor Tyler characterises as a "noble-minded measure," and of which he speaks as follows:

> The sagacious scheme of Galloway's, which virtually anticipated the British statesmanship of the subsequent century in the solution of the British Colonial problem, came very near to adoption. It was strongly supported by James and John Jay: it was pronounced by Edward Rutledge to be "almost a perfect plan"; in the final trial it was lost only by a vote of six Colonies to five. Had it been adopted the disruption of the British Empire by an American schism would certainly have been averted for that epoch, and as an act of violence and of hereditary unkindness would perhaps have been averted for ever; while the English Colonies in America would have remained English Colonies without ceasing to be free.[1]

Galloway's plan was to federate the States into a Commonwealth, with a triennial Parliament of members elected for that purpose by the States respectively, and a Governor-General or Viceroy appointed by the Crown. He submitted by the hands of Franklin a copy of his scheme to Chatham and Camden, and appears to have made the like communication to Lord Dartmouth. But the flaw in the foundation would have been fatal to the superstructure. No Resolve of the first Continental Congress in 1774, at which eleven Colonies were represented, could have bound the Colonies not

[1] Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*, i. (1763-1776), p. 373. Professor Tyler's encomium may be compared with the chilly references of S. G. Fisher and others to the patriotic effort of Galloway. Cf. for instance, Bigelow, *Life of Franklin from his own Writings*, ii., note to F.'s letter to J. G. 25th February 1775, part of which is quoted on next page.

GEORGE III.

From the Painting by Allan Ramsay in the National Portrait Gallery.

represented: neither in the temper of the people was there any probability that all the Colonies would, each for itself, have consented with the intention of granting the scheme cordial assistance.

For, as a matter of fact, the Patriots now regarded themselves as the salt of the earth. Franklin, with this view of his fellow-countrymen in his mind in the letter to Galloway already mentioned, advised his correspondent to drop the matter.

"When I consider," wrote he, "the extreme corruption prevalent among all orders of men in this old rotten State, and the glorious public virtue so predominant in our rising country, I cannot but apprehend more mischief than benefit from a closer union."

The legend of the spotlessness of the Patriots, and of the inky blackness both of Loyalists and of Englishmen, had captivated the imagination as it inflamed the vanity of the Americans. King George the Third was now represented as an ogre of the coloured variety, whose brutality was modified by occasional lapses into imbecility. At one time he is the blunder-bore of St. James, and at another the silly button-maker of Windsor. His Ministers are the corrupt minions of a tyrant, whom patriotic ballads and pieces call Nero, Alva, Attila, Judas, or Herod, as the word best fits the composition.

Mr. Philip Freneau, whose revolutionary poetry is much admired, composed a kind of litany under the headline, "Libera nos, Domine," of which the following is a petition:

From the scoundrel Lord North, who would bind us in chains,
From a dunce of a king who was born without brains,
The utmost extent of whose sense is to see
That reigning and making of buttons agree.

Freneau was incomparably the bitterest and most unrelenting, and in some respects the most powerful of the satirical poets belonging to the insurgent side of the Revolution. Freneau was not heard of by the

general public much before the year 1775. But by that time the Patriots were swollen with hatred of England, and lashed themselves with ease into an almost unexampled ferocity towards any opponent of their policy, were he armed or unarmed, were he the king in Windsor; or merely the neighbour over the way, who had signed a letter of farewell to a departing Governor.[1]

In attempting to analyse this feature of the dispute, we must again turn our attention to the Stamp Act, and the circumstances of its reception.

To conciliate American opinion it had been settled under this Act that all the posts created by the provisions of the Act should be offered to men resident in the Colonies. Franklin is said to have been consulted about some appointments under the Act, and to have recommended certain names. It was proposed that all the money from stamps should be spent in the Colonies. These suggestions seem to have acted more as irritants than as palliatives of popular feeling. Men who had accepted the office were waylaid by mobs and half murdered. Their houses were sacked, wrecked, or burnt. They were denounced from the pulpits of New England with an acrimony which appears quite unwarrantable by the premises. As a direct consequence, as he affirmed, of such a sermon delivered by the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, Hutchinson's house in Boston was sacked and partly destroyed.[2]

[1] A curious *Collection of Sermons*, edited by J. W. Thornton, A.M., Boston, Mass., 1860, helps to an estimate of the sentiments of the times; that most domestic, clean living, and pious of kings is called Cain, Nimrod, Pharaoh, Ahab, and so forth. The discourses are after the style of the preachers in *Old Mortality*; but cf. *The Pulpit of the Revolution; or the Political Sermons of 1776, passim.* Freneau was much like Paine in certain ways—a man of intolerant temper, coarse, careless; who in turn was the virulent opponent of George III., of Washington, of John Adams, and of Alexander Hamilton; a much hated man; a "barking cur," according to Washington Irving; "a reptile journalist," according to Goldwin Smith; cf. *The Political Activities of Philip Freneau*, by S. E. Forman, Baltimore (Md.), 1902.

[2] Mayhew died not long after this incident. He is thought to

Josiah Quincy, jun., under date of 27th August 1765, writes

> There cannot perhaps be found in the records of time a more flagrant instance to what a pitch of infatuation an incensed populace may arise than the last night afforded. The destructions, demolitions, and ruins caused by the rage of the Colonies in general at that singular and ever memorable Statute called the Stamp Act, will make the present year one of the most remarkable eras in the annals of North America.

He then in mild and somewhat apologetic language censures the Boston mob for their "unjustifiable violence", with the usual sideways reference to Boston's love of liberty.

Chief-Justice Hutchinson had done everything in his power. "I strove," says he, "as much as in me lay to prevent the Stamp Act." He was a native of Boston, highly esteemed for his public and private virtues, a lover of his country, a student, a man of taste and literary judgment. He had for years been collecting documents and evidence connected with the history of Massachusetts, and had drawn together what was reputed to be the largest library in the Colonies.

Violence in New England.

The Boston mob attacked the residence of the Chief-Justice, burned all this store of valuable historical materials, hacked his pictures to pieces, destroyed all his furniture and goods down to the very minutest items of the family wardrobe, and finally drank themselves to a standstill from the contents of his cellar. There had been much previous violence to minor officials, but this was the culminating outrage. Next day a public meeting was called to denounce these proceedings, but it does not appear that any compensation was offered to the Chief-Justice, or any reparation made, except perhaps by Mayhew, who,

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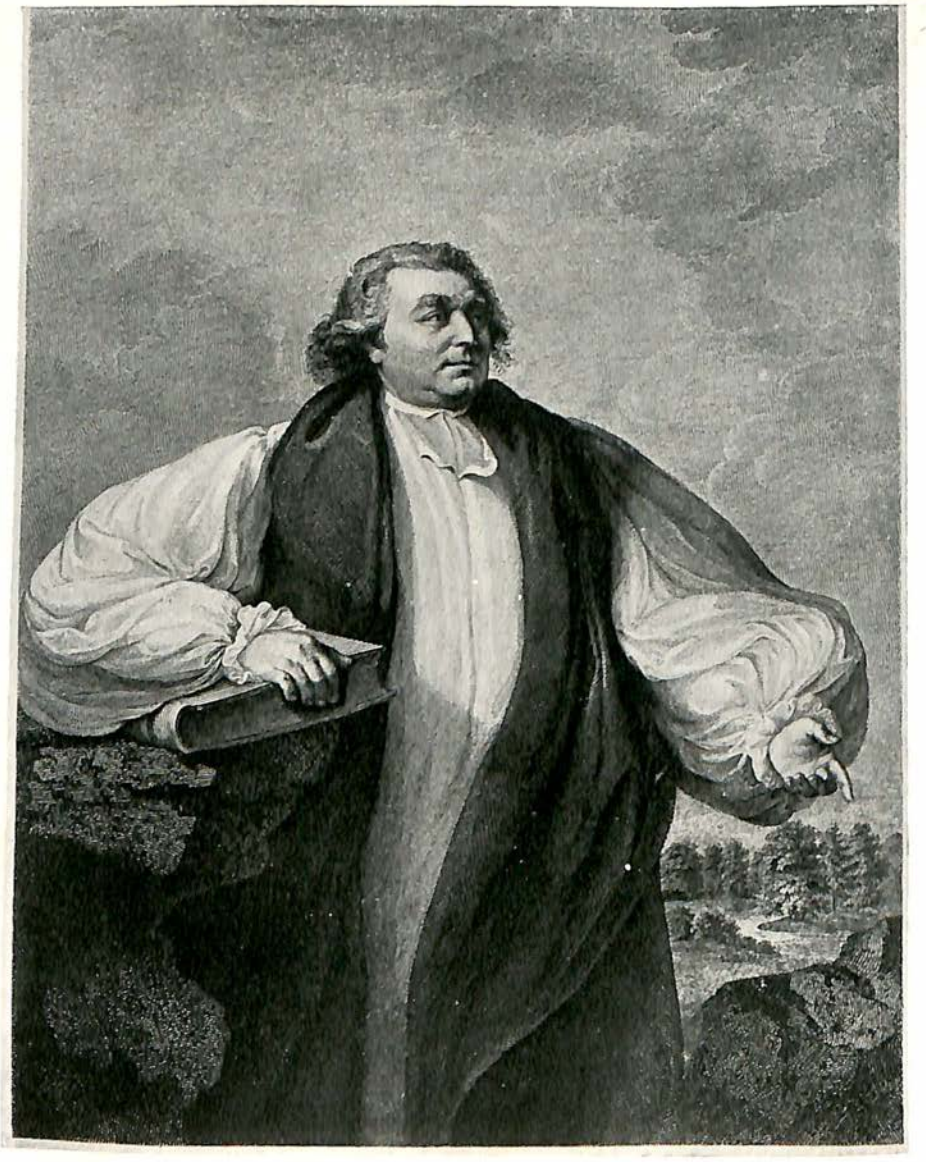
have been the founder of the Unitarian sect in Boston. Among his published works is a parody of the Athanasian Creed. His rank among Boston worthies is uncontested. Cf. *Journal* of Rev. Thomas Smith of Portland (Me.), p. 109, note.

hearing that his preaching had influenced more than one man to these barbarous and cowardly deeds, wrote a contrite letter to Hutchinson expressing his detestation of the acts of the night before. But as Mayhew's preaching on political topics in those times appears to have been of the don't-nail-his-ears-to-the-pump order of oratory, his surprise at being taken literally by some of his hearers was most probably an affectation of a public man in a quandary how to save his face.

This outrage took place on 26th August 1765. The next day a similar outrage occurred at Newport, R.I. Mr. Martin Howard was an eminent lawyer and a distinguished politician who had the sense to perceive that all speeches and pronouncements against the Stamp Act contained the principle of Nullification, that is, of total abolition of the Authority of Parliament in the Colonies, and with the courage of his opinions he dared to express them in a series of letters, published under a pseudonym, for, as Professor Tyler points out, even ten years before the Declaration of Independence Loyalist writers found themselves compelled, in defence of the existing system, and in support of the union betwixt the Crown and the Colonies, to write under the cloak of a pseudonym. Mr. Howard then, in "A letter from a gentleman in Halifax to his friend in Rhode Island," wrote a pamphlet on what may be called Conservative or Unionist lines. The audacity of Mr. Howard made Patriots gasp for breath. Mr. James Otis, by way of refuting Howard, poured over him a stream of spiteful misrepresentation. The Legislative Assembly of Rhode Island was invited to cause the pamphlet to be burnt by the common hangman. But as soon as Mr. Howard's identification with the authorship of these letters was complete, the local branch of the Sons of Liberty proceeded to demonstrate what they understood by liberty. They beset the house of Mr. Howard, which they did not leave until they had thoroughly gutted it, had burned



THE RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D., BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.

Engraving by W. Sharp, from a Portrait by Duché.

or smashed his furniture, and had injured his person, whereupon he himself, well-nigh friendless and fearing for his life, took shelter in the *Signet* man-of-war, and soon after departed for Great Britain.

This outrage, so close upon the doings in Boston, signified that the Reign of Terror had already begun. Colonel Barré, in the House of Commons in 1764 had, when supporting the contentions of the American patriots, spoken of them as Sons of Liberty, a compliment the vainer members of the young American party immediately appropriated for personal use. These Sons of Liberty were ever foremost in the propagation of the new gospel, teaching that the Colonies were quite independent of Parliament, and that they held directly from the Crown.

And this argument ten years later was met by Dr. Seabury, an Anglican divine, rector of St. Peters, Westchester, of whom Professor Tyler says:

> He was a man builded after the heroic pattern; a man of powerful frame, of robust health, of tremendous energy, physical, mental, and moral, of great and varied experience in the affairs of life, a physician, a theologian, a scholar, a terse and vigorous writer, an orator of impassioned and commanding speech; his mind firmly made up to clear and reverent conclusions on all the great subjects that man either alone or in society has to deal with.

He met the fantastic plea of the Sons of Liberty on its own plane. He drew attention to the obvious constitutional fact that the British King is a monarch holding his title by consent of Parliament, that he was King of America by the same title as he was King of Great Britain, and that for Americans to contend that they held whatever they supposed themselves to hold, direct

[1] An important extract from *The Gentleman in Halifax* may be seen in Hart, *Building of the Republic*, ii. 394, in which Howard indicts patriots of preaching Independence under the guise of arguments about Constitutional Liberty. Most of the matter above is due to Tyler, i. 350. There is a friendly notice of Howard in Sabine's *Loyalists*, *s.v.* Howard.

from the Crown, was an idle contention, and mere subterfuge for the sinister designs of the patriots in the direction of Nullification of all the authority of either Crown or Parliament in the American Colonies. Seabury, like other Loyalists, had under the terror of the times to write by a pseudonym. He called himself a "West Chester Farmer," which title was true in fact, as he farmed his own glebe. The violent rage of the Sons of Liberty threatened the West Chester farmer with death. They tarred and feathered his pamphlets; they burned them at the stake in grim symbolism of what the author might anticipate if unearthed. By-and-bye, on mere suspicion of his authorship of these pungent letters, he was treated with every outrage short of death, his daughters were
1775- prodded with bayonets by Patriots disappointed in their
1776. search for their father. Later on, more Patriots stole the rector's spoons, sacked his house, and in due course other Patriots burned the contents of his church for firewood.[1]

There was yet another eminent Loyalist, well known to the students of the doings and writings of these turbulent days as "Massachusettensis." As Dr. Seabury's work was intended for the guidance of the province of New York, so the author of the seventeen letters signed "Massachusettensis" wrote for his fellow-countrymen in New England. His letters appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, a paper published in the interests of the Conservative or Unionist Party. His fate, on his identity being revealed, was in all principal features

[1] Cf. Moore's *Diary*, i. 173, quoting the *Pennsylvania Journal*, December 6, 1775, describing a filibustering expedition from Connecticut, which raided New York, secured "the caitiff Seabury, as a dastardly protestor against the proceedings of Congress," Tyler, i. 352. Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the American Revolution*, says little about these cases; his work is tinged unpleasantly with persiflage and patronage of these wretched sufferers; cf. also in Moore's *Diary*, i. 38, and Tyler, i. 367. For Seabury, cf. Eben Edwards Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D.*, Boston, 1881.

that of Seabury and Howard: his home in Taunton was assailed, patriots fired random shots into his house, and finally Mr. Daniel Leonard, a barrister, a graduate of Harvard, and a gentleman of considerable distinction, was compelled to put himself and family under the protection of the British flag. He was afterwards outlawed; his property confiscated; and, notwithstanding the amnesty of 1783, appears not to have been allowed to return to his native land.

These instances, taken from the beginning and the end of the ten years' period during which the struggle passed through the argumentative and propagandist stage, indicate the line of action pursued by the active missionaries of Independence.

But to make clear the inwardness of the movement it is necessary to pursue further the course taken by patriots to ensure success. Nearly sixty years since Mr. Sabine called attention to the sufferings of the Unionists at the hands of the Sons of Liberty during that world-changing ten years.

The Tories or Unionists stood, in respect of the movement for Nullification of Parliamentary supremacy in the States, towards the Whigs or supporters of Nullification, in a position closely similar to that occupied by the two great American parties in 1860, when the question of Secession from the federation with the Northern States of the American Union was referred to the ordeal by fire and sword. The Unionists or Tories of the North in 1860 desired to retain the *status quo*; the Whigs or seceders of the South sought Independence or Nullification. The majority in 1860 cried out *No* to the demand for Nullification, while in 1776 it cried out *Yes*. So far as there are any ethics attaching to such movements, they reveal a numerous and prosperous body of men in either case, whose notions of right doing and right thinking are based on the *beati possidentes* view of economical order. There is always such a body of men in any peaceful Commonwealth: men

in professions, or engaged in official duty, servants of the Government, happy beings of independent means, annuitants, pensioners; men in a staid way of unobtrusive business, who have no ostensible interest in radical changes, besides the large class of women and men naturally pacific or apathetic, whose energies are quite used up by the little calls of daily necessity. It is now allowed by those who have examined the accessible evidence, that in the aggregate these varieties of interests, tastes, and temperaments constituted about two-thirds of the volume of floating opinion, in other words, the bulk of the American people were averse to change.[1] On the other side were people with a hereditary grievance against England, and the contrabandists or smugglers: the men whose fortunes had been built up by "free trade," or the total and absolute disregard for every clause of every one of the Twenty-Nine Acts of Parliament intended to control the trade of the American Colonies. These men were threatened with ruin, if the activity of revenue cutters, preventive men, and Custom House officers, got the upper hand in ports, harbours, and the narrow seas. The Admiralty had instructed every commander of a King's ship cruising along the American seaboard to assist in the policing of the seas for the prevention of smuggling. These instructions gave a much appreciated fillip to life on the North Atlantic Station. For the North Atlantic, since France after 1763 had no possession in that part of the world, was become a dull and unpopular station. There had been neither sport to enjoy, nor prize money to win in these waters. But now the smart frigates, the fast sailing brigs, the dandy cutters were aroused by the keen sense of the pleasures of the chase. Especially great was the joy among the lieutenants, as they made them ready for battle. The British naval lieutenant of 1765 was a very rough person.

[1] Tyler, i. 3, thinks the Patriots were a working majority of the American people, *and the Loyalists an immense and very conscientious minority*. Cf. also John Adams, *Works*, x. 63.

He had often been "made" by a post-captain, who in an emergency did a little press-gang work among merchantmen, and filled up the minor posts on the King's decks from the impressed mates and captains of the mercantile marine. Edward Thompson, in his letters, says that in his time "a chaw of tobacco, a rattan, and a rope of oaths," constituted the simple qualifications for a lieutenantcy in the King's fleet. Lieutenants according to this sample did very little to promote good feeling between Colonial traders and the British Navy. They were summary in action, and valued at a pinch of snuff the laws, regulations, statutes, and ordinances quoted by law-abiding Americans caught in the act of running tobacco in hogsheads labelled and duly made up to look like barrels of molasses. Consequently, wherever along the Atlantic coast a few smacks were beached, consternation reigned supreme. At Gloucester, Salem, Marblehead, Boston, Plymouth, Providence, Providence Bar Harbour, Newport, Narragansett Bay, The Narrows, and so on southward to the Savannah, were found gangs of tarry-breeked men full of resentment for their occupation gone. Behind these skirmishers and front line men lay the *Triarii*, the Hancocks and other families of high tone and influence, whose plate, wine, satin, and broadcloth were the materialised expression of happy ventures in law breaking.

The incident of the *Liberty*.

Popular reprisals in the case of attempts to enforce the Trade Laws are best exemplified by two incidents so well known in American domestic history that a brief mention of them may be sufficient. Mr. John Hancock of Boston, a gentleman much heard of in connection with later events, was the inheritor of vast wealth amassed chiefly by judicious smuggling. To this inheritance he added more wealth by more smuggling. Early in the summer of 1768 the sloop *Liberty*, with a cargo of Madeira, was arrested by the Custom House officers for violation of the Trade Laws. The ship being moored at the Long Wharf,

Boston, was easily accessible to a mob. Mr. Hancock being not only a wealthy man, who naturally resented the enforcement of laws of which the neglect enriched him, but a patriot leader of smaller men suffering similar grievances arising from newly revived and enforced regulations, found much active sympathy in his misfortune. His adviser and wirepuller, Mr. Samuel Adams, furnished the legal arguments, and the mob the *argumentum baculinum* appropriate to the case. A fierce attack on the landing officers, on whom bricks and stones and cudgels played their varied parts, with infliction of damage and terror on their homes and families, drove them from the arrested wine casks to take refuge on board the *Romney*, man-o'-war, then lying near by, and afterwards to Castle William (now Fort Independence) in Boston Bay, where they remained until the arrival of British troops reduced the turbulent town to comparative quiet. The Provincial Government sued Mr. John Hancock for £9000 damages and fines, but with Mr. John Adams to tell the Court that as the defendant had no voice in the making of the laws under which he was sued, he was not bound to obey them, and with the lawless temperament of Boston citizens to guide the opinions of a Boston jury, the Government might have as usefully asked for nine millions.[1]

Of the *Gaspee*, 1772.

The other incident was the affair of the *Gaspé* (*Gaspee*). Lieutenant Duddington, in command of this vessel of eight guns, had been particularly and successfully active in preventive work off the coast of Rhode Island. Both Newport and Providence were seriously embarrassed by the watchful policing of the inlets and

[1] "It was perfectly understood," says Chief-Justice Marshall, "that no person would dare to inform, or even to appear as a witness in any prosecution which might be instituted by the Attorney-General, and, as if completely to prevent further proceedings, several persons who had been active in producing the riots were placed on the Grand Jury for the succeeding term."—Marshall, *Life of Washington* (edition of 1804), i. 149.

bays round about. For the first time in the course of long and (legally) dishonest lives, leading citizens, merchants, and captains were checked by the enforcement of laws and regulations controlling trade. Duddington came into Narragansett Bay for the purpose of picking up some men consigned to him from Boston. Working in shorewards he ran aground with a falling tide on a spit about seven miles from Providence, where he had to remain till the corresponding flood early in the following morning. The men of Providence were equal to the occasion. By sound of bell citizens were summoned, and informed of an enterprise to settle the fate of the *Gaspee*. About four o'clock of the morning, as the summer mist lay upon the waters, eight whale boats bore down upon the stranded schooner. As in the case of the filibustering raid in Ticonderoga in 1775, the officer in command was surprised in his sleep. Duddington rushing up on deck was shot down in his sleeping gear. The ship's papers were captured, his own personal goods pitched overboard, himself in his wounded condition expelled from his ship, his crew driven ashore, and his ship burnt to the water's edge. In this case, as in the case of Hutchinson's house in Boston, and of the incident of the sloop *Liberty*, no offender was punished. Every one knew the culprits; the great Mr. John Brown of Providence had incited daring spirits to this exploit, and the gold-laced hat of the wounded lieutenant was said to have been offered for sale on the same day in Providence. Yet all lips were closed, some from sympathy, some from apathy, some from terror of tar and feathers, or the torture of the split rail. To discover the perpetrators of this act of high treason the Ministry offered large rewards, and appointed a commission of local magnates for the bringing of the traitors to judgment. This commission was denounced by the Patriots as a further act of tyranny of the Star Chamber type. Meanwhile the Rhode Island House of Assembly, every member of which knew perfectly well the men-

dacity of its proceedings, condemned this outrage in strong language, and requested their Governor to transmit to Whitehall an expression of their unabated loyalty to the Crown. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise, both from these incidents and from a mass of minor events of like import, that during ten years beginning with 1765 the King's law ran nowhere along the Atlantic States.

Mob law.

Mob law reigned in its stead. Mobs even intervened in the settlement of suits that had no political significance whatever. If a popular man were cast in a suit, and put into custody pending the payment of damages, the Patriots assembled in hundreds, and took him out of ward. They established a very elaborate and searching system of espionage, by means of committees of correspondence which were practically secret vigilant societies of the Mafia type, modified, of course, by the less fiery temperament of the Teutonic blood. They did not mark down victims for murder, but they consigned them to ruin.[1] Some contention has taken place as to the persons to whom the credit of suggesting this organisation of espionage and coercion is due. It appears that Mr. James Warren of New Plymouth and Mr. Samuel Adams of Boston are the sponsors

[1] Cf. F. Moore's *Diary*, i. 359. "This morning (2nd December 1776) at Chesterton (S.C.) John Roberts, a dissenting minister, was seized on suspicion of being an enemy to the rights of America, when he was tarred and feathered, after which the populace, whose fury could not be appeased, erected a gibbet, on which they hanged him, and afterwards made a bonfire in which Roberts, together with the gibbet, was burned to ashes." Also C. Neilson, *History of Burgoyne's Expedition* (Albany, N.Y.), p. 127, states that seven Tories were hanged on one gibbet in one day amidst the execrations of the Whigs. (Mr. Neilson's father fought on the patriot side at Stillwater, and probably was an eyewitness of this hanging of men). Moore's *Diary* is to be used with caution, containing as it does for the most part little else than extracts from newspapers. The atrocities on both sides in the later stages of the war are almost incredible. Sabine, *Loyalists*, p. 406, relates how Putnam in 1779 caused two boys of twelve to assist in the hanging of a Connecticut man, executed without trial. This is the same Putnam, Washington is said to have rebuked for clemency.

of this most successful device. As seven cities claimed Homer's stock and birth-place, so seven titles are claimed by this organisation. Finally, whatever their name, these committees engaged in the suppression of Unionism and the Tories.[1]

To this end any or every form of oppression, spoliation, and cruelty was not only used but approved. Washington's hatred of Loyalists is well known, and found perhaps its acutest expression in the now famous letter written by him on the occasion of Sir William Howe's quitting Boston in March 1776. The freedom of the press, as some Englishmen now profess to understand it, was never tolerated, nor is it now tolerated in America. Washington, as well as the leading patriotic divines, Calvinist or Presbyterian, took the view that if the pen is mightier than the sword, then a pamphleteer is as dangerous as a battalion. "Why," asked Washington, "should persons be suffered to stalk at large, whilst we know they will do us every mischief in their power?" American ministers of religion have never been backward in offering advice about points and policy and conduct in strenuous times, and the example set by the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew was amended by spirits grown bolder as popular approval of extreme courses increased. Death and destruction were recommended from the pulpit under the form of jettison, as Jonah was jettisoned to save a labouring ship.[2] Occasionally some

[1] *E.g.*, in Connecticut the Committee of Safety took charge of the social habits of the people: "Wednesday evening last a number of ladies and gentlemen assembled at a place called East Farm (Conn.), where they had needless entertainment, and made themselves merry with a good glass of wine." For this outrageous conduct they were reported for severe punishment.

[2] This sentiment is from Dr. Witherspoon, whose collection of scientific instruments was destroyed by British troops in 1777 at Princeton; the Patriot troops subsequently completed the work by demolishing the college organ. Sermons played a large part in bringing about the War of Secession in 1860, Mr. Ward Beecher took the lead in this matter: cf. Kate Cumming, *Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of the Tennessee*, p. 168; and Tyler ii., chap. 35.

man of gentler mood expressed disgust and horror at sights he was compelled to see in town or village, but in most cases these outrages were regarded with every token of admiring interest and approval. Washington himself is said to have stood on the steps of a New York house in 1776 and applauded a lamentable procession passing by. Riding on a rail was, it appears, a form of torture in favour in New York, and to this was added the New England torture of tarring and feathering. Judge Jones says, doubtless on the testimony of an eyewitness:—

Sufferings of the Loyalists.

When they had taken several of these unhappy victims, they placed them upon sharp rails with one leg on each side; each rail was carried upon the shoulders of two tall men with a man on each side to keep the poor wretch straight and fixed in his seat. In this manner were numbers of these poor people paraded through the most conspicuous streets in the town, and at every corner a crier made proclamation declaring the offenders to be notorious Tories. They passed before the door of General Washington, who is said to have raised his hat in salutation of the mob, and to have severely reprimanded Israel Putnam,[1] that fine old Connecticut Cincinnatus, for attempting to put a stop to a similar procession.

Tarring and feathering displaced in popularity the riding of a man on a split rail, because it was a shameful and disgraceful infliction of mental torture as well as an acute physical discomfort, and because it afforded more sport to the mob by the ineffable affront to the dignity and self-respect of honoured and honourable citizens. As thus:

Last night, in Duchess County, New York, James Smith, Esq., a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, was handsomely tarred and feathered for acting in open contempt of the resolves of the County Committee, as was Colo. Smith for the like behaviour. They were carted five or six miles into the country.

The Judge had in the discharge of his office committed one of the Committee for a breach of the peace in assaulting a Unionist or Tory gentleman,

[1] Jones, *History of New York*, pp. 101, 102.

and depriving him of his personal property, "which enraged the people so much that they rose and rescued the prisoner, and poured out their resentment on this villainous retailer of the law."[1] This class of outrage was repeated thousands of times. Recruits and contingents of militia coming to join Washington's army amused themselves by tarring and feathering all the refractory Tories met on their road, "which had a very good effect," say the reports. A party of militia laid hold of a Connecticut farmer, marched him twenty miles, forcing him to carry one of his own geese in his hand all the way. At the end of the march they tarred him, made him pluck his goose, and bestowing the feathers on him, bade him kneel down and thank them for this gentle treatment.[2]

The good sense and just reflections of American writers of the later school of American history, which has cast aside the bombast of special pleading, recognise the terrible sufferings and exactions inflicted upon their fellow-countrymen, simply for their loyalty to the settlement and constitution which the Governance of the Colonies embodied. On this side of the water their hardships, privations, and banishment have earned for them a kind of contemptuous patronage, as for poor devils who had the misfortune not to be high-born Whigs. The easiest line probably of all literary display is to cover men, whose ideals and actions have

[1] *Constitutional Gazette*, 20th September 1775.

[2] *Virginia Gazette*, 9th September 1775. Van Tyne, *Loyalists*, chap. i., quotes a case of the same sort. These roving bodies of militia behaved with increasing lawlessness as the war proceeded. One posse of these yokels, on the way to join the Continental Army, drove before them, at the point of pitchfork and cutlass, about thirty gentlemen of estate in Connecticut, threatening to pitch them headlong into the Simsbury quarries. The worst of soldiers, they made themselves a terror to all that lay on their road. Cf. the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 25th January 1776. "The Jersey boys are scouring Long Island, and have taken Judge French and other ringleaders." The Jersey boys were 900 militiamen, who terrorised Long Island, indulging in predatory raids and in inflicting the customary tortures.

encountered failure, with brilliant inuendoes that they merited all their disasters. But sixty years ago, animated by a spirit far ahead of his time, Mr. Lorenzo Sabine spoke the *apologia* of the Loyalists in terms that bear reproduction:

"Were Whigs interests," he asks, "promoted because one thousand men shut up the law courts in Berkshire and five thousand did the same at Worcester, and mobs drove away the Judges at Springfield, Taunton, and Plymouth, because in one place a judge was insulted, threatened, and stopped from his duty, in another the whole bench was hissed and hooted, and in a third were required to do penance hat in hand in a procession of attorneys and sheriffs. Did it serve a good end to endeavour to hinder Tories from getting tenants or to prevent men from discharging their just debts? Had widows and orphans no additional griefs because the probate courts were closed by the mob? What father who doubted, wavered, and doubted still, whether to join the patriotic movement or fly, was persuaded to abide the issue in the land of his birth because foul words assailed his daughters, or because they were pelted with mud in the streets?"[1]

But the proceedings against loyal men were not confined to the vagaries and caprices of mob law. Colony after Colony issued stringent decrees under which confiscation, imprisonment, or death were penalties inflicted for fidelity to the Crown. Officials of many years standing, families connected by immediate descent, or by intermarriage with well-known families of the old country; men whose tastes and education prompted their support of the old order of things, under which they had enjoyed a liberty such as the British people did not then enjoy; all that numerous and widely diffused class of persons which by temperament prefers the actual to the probable; men of conscientious political convictions, who yet refrain from forcing them unseasonably upon their neighbours' notice; all these people were entangled in the meshes of one common net along with criminals, with fishers in troubled

[1] Sabine, pp. 76, 77.

waters, with spies, informers, and knights of the road, with adventurers and the rest of the human refuse that sways upon the edge of the tide, in the flood or ebb of national movements. Massachusetts and Virginia, behaved with excessive harshness. Congress, powerless ever for any good work in those days, expressed itself about outrages in terms almost amounting to commendation. In fact members of Congress were as much in terror of tar and feathers as any other citizen might reasonably be. To express sympathy or dissent when an outrage was going forward, was for a bystander an act invoking immediately the "just resentment" of the mob. Captain Davis, of Brimfield standing by, in New London, when the mob was handling Colonel Willard in the accustomed manner, showed some resentment, for which he was stripped and clad in a dress of tar and feathers. The mob picked men of position for especial attack in this brutal and ignominious way. Hence the records or traditions of hundreds of such outrages have been obliterated or forgotten, because it is better to forget them. Much of the documentary evidence has been destroyed; a great mass of outrage was never publicly disclosed. Few remained in a place after the disgrace and exposure of being tarred and feathered. The victim was stripped naked, deluged with pitch, smothered in the contents of three or four pillows, usually taken from his own house, and in that disgusting condition, and astride on a rail, paraded up and down the streets of his town or village, to be further insulted, derided, and pelted with "reception eggs."

"Come, genlemun, le' 's liquor;
An', Gin'ral, when you've mixed the drinks an' chalked 'em up, tote roun'
An', see ef ther' 's a feather-bed (thet's borryable) in town.
We'll try ye fair, ole Grafted-leg, an' ef the tar wun't stick,
Th' ain't not a juror here but wut'll 'quit ye double-quick."
To cut it short, I wun't say sweet, they gi' me a good dip,
(They ain't *perfessin'* Bahptists here,) then give the bed a rip,—

The jury'd sot, an' quicker'n a flash they hetched me out, a livin'
Extemp'ry mammoth turkey-chick, fer a Fejee Thanksgivin'.

. . . . . .

I didn't make no gret defence: you don't feel much like speakin',
When, ef you let your clamshells gape, a quart o' tar will leak in:
I *hev* hearn tell o' wingéd words, but pint o' fact it tethers
The spoutin' gift to hev your words *tu* thick sot on with feathers,
An' Choate ner Webster wouldn't ha' made an A1 kin' o' speech
J. R. Lowell. Astride a Southun chestnut horse sharper 'n a baby's screech."

BIRDOFREDUM SAWIN.

There is a record of a victim being smothered in treacle where pitch was not convenient to hand. Such a penalty, with its repulsive details, broke men's spirits; some died, others quitted a neighbourhood or country in which they could never dare again to look a neighbour in the face. There were, as is well known, Committees of Tarring and Feathering at every important centre of population. In course of time these infamous proceedings were conducted with certain forms and ceremonies, as if they constituted a part of the reasonable administration of Statute Law.

"Even in cases," says Mr. Lecky, "which had little or nothing to do with politics, mob violence prevailed. Thus a Custom House officer called Malcolm, who in a street riot had struck or threatened to strike with a cutlass a person who insulted him, was dragged out of his house by the mob, stripped, tarred, and feathered, then carted for several hours during an intense frost, and finally scourged, with a halter round his neck, through the streets of Boston, and all this was done in the presence of thousands of spectators, and with the most absolute impunity."[1]

Beyond question, there were a multitude of instances of unrecorded mob tyranny and mob violence. Tar and feather are not materials of which, in later years, a man would desire it to be known that he had once worn a gala suit. Men, after such treatment, either went mad or quitted the country for ever, or fostered

[1] Malcolm's case was the subject of correspondence with Lord Dartmouth; cf. *American Correspondence of Lord Dartmouth*, pp. 192, 263. The complainant was an officer of some service both by sea and land. He came to London seeking compensation, placed by him at £150.

such a hatred of their fellow-countrymen that savage reprisals became inevitable. The memory of these barbarities embittered the later actions of the war. After Clinton's succeeding to the high command of the British force in America, the operations in the Southern section were carried out mainly by the Provincials or Tories.

"The best part of the veteran troops," says Mr. Fortescue, "had been used up in the campaign of Howe and Burgoyne. Such of them as survived marched with Cornwallis through the Carolines, but there can have been few of them left after the battle of Camden. Yet the remnant managed to win the action of Guildford, when, beyond doubt, there must have been many Provincials in the ranks. Rawdon, again, won his action at Hobkirk's Hill almost entirely with Provincial troops. Even at Eutaw, Stuart's Provincial troops rallied after their first defeat, whereas Greene's broke up to plunder before their work was half done." [1]

Mr. Fortescue's contention appears to be that the British divisional officers were, after 1778, largely dependent upon Provincial, that is, Loyalist, troops, and that they made excellent soldiers when under British discipline and in British pay.

It is no part of this present chapter to do more than give a general view of the conditions antecedent to the outbreak of hostilities in America, but it may be observed, in closing this part of the subject, that the hatred felt by Washington, Franklin, and the other leaders of the American party was intensified by the course of the war, so that when the Peace came in 1783 the clause providing amnesty for the loyal adherents of the British Crown, though signed on behalf of the United States by John Adams, Jay, and Franklin, was violated in every particular. The men who had borne arms against America's cause were excluded from the benefit of this amnesty, but for Loyalists who had not borne arms, and had quitted the country, was stipulated a peaceful return and some

[1] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 399, following.

reinstatement in their former position. But the States refused to be bound by this or any other clause of the Treaty of Peace discovered to be distasteful to the town mobs.[1] Loyalist gentlemen returning to their homes under the guarantee of a treaty of peace, signed on behalf of Congress as one of two high contracting parties, were once more greeted with tar and feather, indicted for high treason, and finally expelled for ever from their native soil. To lean on Congress for some show of redemption of Congressional pledges and promises was ever, at this time, to lean on a reed.

[1] The Provincial Assemblies had, in many cases, attainted refugee Loyalists, confiscated their property, who, if found anywhere within the borders of the Province after attainder, were at once put to death, *e.g.* S. Carolina; cf. Van Tyne, Appendix B, p. 325, on the Violations of the Treaty of 1783; cf. *Life and Letters of John Jay*, ii. 19, and Dr. Wm. Hunt in vol. x. *Political History of England*, p. 242.

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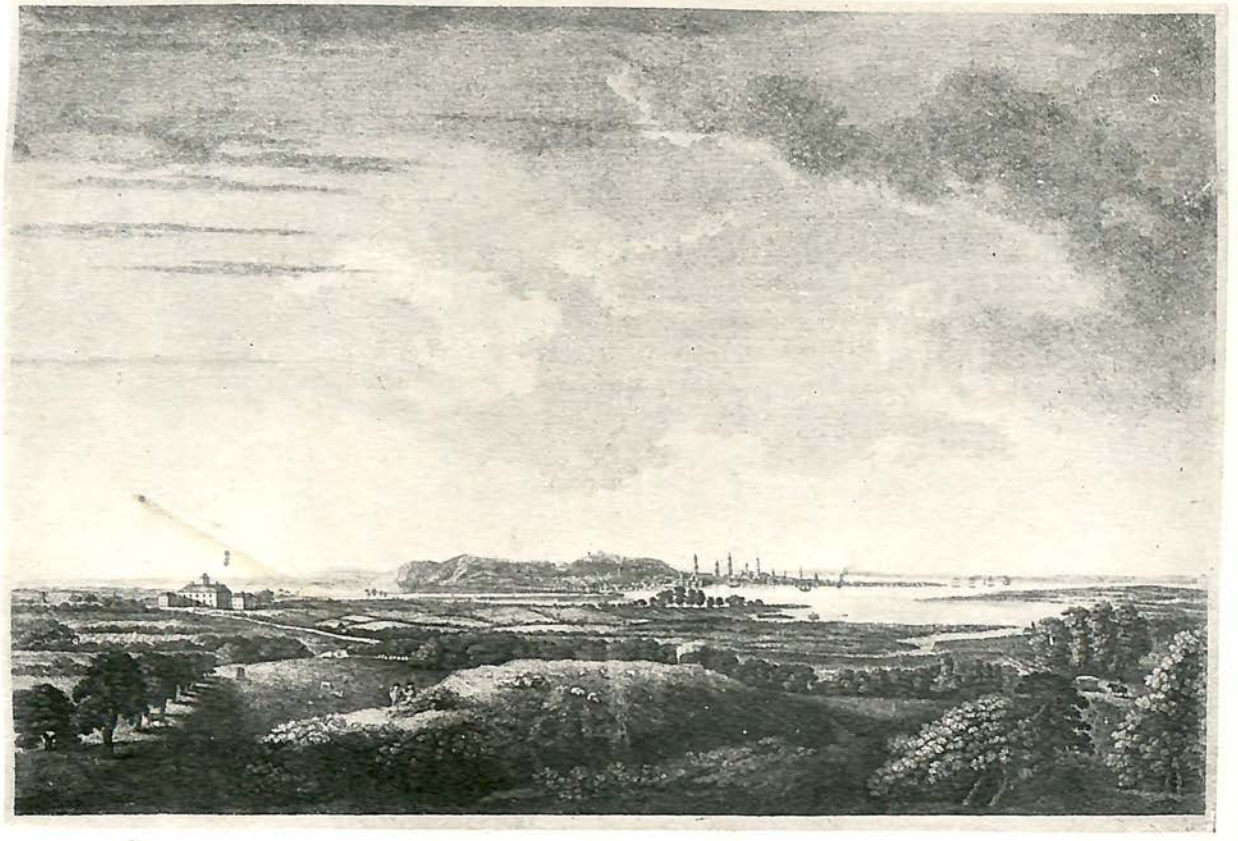

Boston from the Dorchester Road.
From the Engraving by Newton after Pierrie, 1776.

## CHAPTER II

### THE STORM CENTRE, BOSTON—SOCIAL

"Sicut Patribus Sit Deus Nobis" is Boston's motto. Founded in 1630 by men from Eastern England, it was named after the old East Anglian town, in which the great tower of St. Botolph's rises, the well-known and admired landmark of all that land round about.

Miles Standish, the hero of many Puritan legends, had landed on the Boston peninsula about 1622, but after a brief stay passed away leaving no trace behind. In July 1630 a party of emigrants searching about for a resting-place in Massachusetts Bay made this report:

> The situation of Salem pleasing us not for the capital town, we consult about some other. To this purpose some were sent to search up the river for a convenient place, who returning, report that they have found a good one on the Mystic River: but other seconding (following) these, find another we like better, three leagues up the Charles River.[1]

And the general opinion confirming this choice the wanderers pitched their tents here, with the result that on the 27th of September 1630, an official announcement was made by the Assistants, that Trimountain be called Boston and Mattapan, Dorchester, and so have the names continued to this day. The peninsula on which the old town stood was purchased for £30.

New England was founded and colonized by men of prudence, who thought it wise to retire from any further

[1] Report of the Rev. Thos. Prince, M.A., Boston, New England, 1636.

struggle with Stuart misrule, leaving the contention to stronger purposes and sturdier minds. The migrating Puritans, having thus left better men to settle a quarrel which they had themselves contributed to inflame, have accustomed themselves to think of the Englishmen they abandoned as a people of degenerate mind. They have contracted a habit of alleging the superiority of their motives, the purity of their faith, their supreme fortitude, in comparison with the conduct and character of the men who stood by the old ship and weathered her through breakers to calmer and deeper waters. Readers of popular American literature accustom themselves to statements more or less inaccurate, whereby the American character is extolled by comparison with that of the inhabitants of the old country. That Mr. John Adams should entertain the very highest opinion of New Englanders is to be anticipated by any who have interested themselves in the study of that very eminent person. His personal estimate of New England is unavoidably a reflection of his personal estimate of himself. In familiar letters to his wife Mr. Adams assigns good reasons for the supremacy in moral qualities of New England.

"The people," he says, "are of purer English blood, less mixed with Scotch, Irish, Dutch, French, Swedish, etc., than any other, and descended from Englishmen who left Europe in purer times than the present, and less tainted with corruption than those they left behind them, while the institutions in New England for the support of religion, morals, and decency, exceed any other; obliging every parish to have a Minister, and every person to go to Meeting, etc."

From this candid statement it appears that the men who remained behind in England—Cromwell, Pym, Hampden, Milton, Falkland and the rest, were tainted with corruption,[1] while the refugees who quitted their

[1] Thus: Speaking of *Boston*, Mr. S. A. Drake, *Landmarks of Boston*, says: "The name itself owes its origin to Botolph, a pious old Saxon of the 7th century, afterwards canonized as the titular saint of mariners, and *shews an ingenuity of corruption for which*

native land because there were laws compelling every one to go to meeting in old England, re-enacted these laws with a little alteration of detail, as salutary provisions for the maintenance of decency and order in New England.

It is only just to the memory of Hawthorne and Russell Lowell and Wendell Holmes to say that they, in common with other writers of influence in New England, have brought about a change of opinion as to the doings of the Puritan Fathers, and of their devotion to freedom. Nothing indeed could easily exceed in frankness the language now used in guide books and local histories about the actual value in the fight for freedom of the men who quitted England to search for spiritual liberty. But the time for Toleration was deferred until 1775.

So strongly had the tenets of the Congregationalists become fastened in the minds of the people, that no one could vote or hold public office unless he became a positive adherent of that particular church. The Episcopalians and others who believed differently from the authorities were allowed no privilege of suffrage. When the missionaries of the Quakers came to Massachusetts, preaching the gospel of love and equality, they were received with execration. Fines and then imprisonment; then ears were cut off, first one, then the other, for a second offence; then chaining in open prison yards in the severe New England winter; then the death-dealing scourge, boring the tongue with hot irons, and finally banishment or hanging.[1]

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*England is famous.*" Botolph was not a Saxon, and *Botolphston* becomes Bo'ston by common phonetic change and not because of moral delinquency. A Bostonian's way of pronouncing *Boston* witnesses to the change.

[1] *Historical Sketch of Salem, Mass.*, published by the Essex Institute, Salem, 1899. This interesting town was to the forefront of New England persecutions. In 1692 a man underwent *peine forte et dure* here for recalcitrancy. He had been arraigned for witchcraft and refused to plead. In the same year a woman was hanged by Lynch Law for witchcraft, as the jury in her case returned a verdict of *not guilty*. The Rev. George Burroughs of Wells, Maine, was hanged in Salem; the Rev. Cotton Mather, a Puritan divine of precious memory in New England, preaching a sermon against Burroughs. The incident

It was death to say Mass anywhere in New England. Indians were burnt alive for heresy. It was chiefly New England influence that controlled Congress in 1774, and induced the despatch to the people of England of that denunciation of the Pope, his clergy and people, in connection with the Quebec Act, of which the language was so unmeasured. It is notorious too that in Boston at least, the chief annual popular holiday was the 5th of November, on which occasion the riots and bloodshed in the town became so great, that Washington in 1775, considering the anniversary "pernicious and mischievous," caused it to be suppressed. A remarkable violence of feeling about matters of opinion survived, in New England, for many years the decay of sectarian animosities in the Mother Country. Consequently in 1775 and for years subsequently it was commonly taught that every patch and stain in Columbia's traditional vesture was of British origin, while her merits were all her own. The British forces, for instance, are charged with setting the example to the American militia and regulars of plundering and looting, while white slavery is imputed to the great Cromwell, who forced it upon an unwilling people.

The miserable dependents of feudal power were sold into servitude. Prisoners of war were thus disposed of under the great Cromwell, some of the captives of Dunbar having been been shipped over seas to America.[1]

These miserable dependents of feudal power were honest Scots Presbyterians who in 1653 were purchased in the open markets of New England by the refugees for conscience' sake of 1630: hence black and white slavery has been from the earliest days an institution of New England, and so remained for nearly two hundred years.

In 1700 Chief-Justice Sewell issued what appears to

recalls the sermon of Bishop Latimer at the roasting alive of Father Forrest in Smithfield in 1538. Cf. Dom. Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, i. 199.

[1] S. A. Drake, *ibid.*

be the first Abolitionist tract published in America. In prophetic strain he wrote :

> Few can endure of a negro's being made free, and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well, and there is such a disparity in their conditions, colour, and hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up in orderly families to the peopling of the land, but still remain in the body politick as a kind of extravasat blood.[1]

Slavery in New England.

In 1700 the number of slaves in the province of Massachusetts was causing serious alarm and heart-searchings. For it was pointed out from Exodus xxi., 16, that God had said : "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found under his hand he shall surely be put to death," and the weight allowed to the Old Testament precepts and orders, by Puritan and Calvinist Divines, made this verse of singular authority. But the Bible texts and their precepts had less weight in the American Colonies than even in England, countries that both offered much lip service to freedom, and obeyed her behests but little. For of the two, if there must be comparison, the Puritan Colonies were the worse. There have never been in English newspapers advertisements about runaways and slaves, such as were frequent during the whole of the eighteenth century, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and *Evening Post*, the *Massachusetts Spy* and the *New York Weekly Journal*. Owing to the influence of the Revolutionary War and other reasons, white and black slavery tapered off somewhat in the New England States as the century drew to a close : yet the institution survived the struggle, and the famous Declaration of Independence, with its lurid rhetoric, had no perceptible influence in diminishing the scandal of slavery. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that in regarding the picture of the winning of

[1] "The Selling of Joseph," Sewell, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8th September 1743. Reprinted in A. B. Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, vol. ii. c. 16. S. G. Fisher points out that on the day of the Declaration of Independence in Boston there appeared in the papers advertisements of slaves for sale.

American Independence, the negro, the redemptioner, the indentured labourer, and the free-willer, poor creatures, who, whether black or white, were *alieni juris*, in servitudes of various intensity or degree, are always in the foreground. The black slave was in better case than the white serf, for being a property for life, his death while still a hearty and vigorous labourer, fell upon his owner as a serious loss, while the white serf being bound for terms of five or seven years, was frequently treated with such severity by his master, who had no permanent interest in his health or efficiency, that on the expiry of the term of servitude, he was a creature broken in strength and spirit.

How slaves in Boston were affected by the political ferment is displayed by their petition of July 1773, which appears to have fallen on deaf ears :

BOSTON, *Friday, July* 23, 1773.

The following petition was presented to the Governor, Council, and House of Assembly during the last session of the General Court, etc. :—

"To his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Governor of said Province, to the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and the Honourable House of Representatives in General Court assembled, June, A.D. 1773.

"The Petition of us, the subscribers, in behalf of all those who, by Divine permission, are held in a state of slavery within the bowels of a free country, humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioners apprehend they have, in common with other men, a natural right to be free, and without molestation to enjoy such property as they may acquire by their industry, or by any other means not detrimental to their fellow-men ; and that no person can have any just claim to their services unless by the laws of the land they have forfeited them, or by voluntary compact become servants, neither of which is our case ; but we were dragged by the cruel hand of power, some of us from our dearest connections, and others stolen from the bosoms of tender parents and brought hither to be enslaved. Thus are we deprived of everything that has a tendency to make life even tolerable. The endearing ties of husband, wife, parent, child, and friend we are generally strangers to, and whenever any of those connections are formed among us, the

pleasures are imbittered by the cruel consideration of our slavery. By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of showing our obedience to the Supreme Governor of the universe, by conforming ourselves to the duties which naturally grow out of such relations. How can a slave perform the duties of husband or parent, wife or child? We are often under the necessity of obeying man, not only in omission of, but frequently in opposition of, the laws of God, so inimical is slavery to religion. As we are hindered by our situation from an observance of the laws of God, so we cannot reap an equal benefit from the laws of the land with other subjects.

"We are informed there is no law of this province whereby our masters can claim our services. Mere custom is the tyrant that keeps us in bondage, and deprives us of that use of the law which he who happens to have a white skin is entitled to. We are not insensible that, if we should be liberated, and allowed by law to demand pay for our past services, our masters and their families would by that means be greatly damnified, if not ruined. But we claim no rigid justice. Yet, as we are honestly entitled to some compensation for all our toils and sufferings, we would therefore, in addition to our prayer that all of us, excepting such as are now infirm through age or otherways unable to support themselves, may be liberated and made free men of this community, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of its free and natural born subjects, further humbly ask that your Excellency and Honours would be pleased to give and grant to us some part of the unimproved land belonging to the province for a settlement, that each of us may there quietly sit down under his own fig tree, and enjoy the fruits of his own labour.

"This scheme, we apprehend, will remove all rational objections to our freedom, and promises so much good to your oppressed petitioners, as well as future advantage to the provinces, that we cannot but hope that your Excellency and Honours will give it due weight and consideration; and that you will, accordingly, cause an Act of the Legislative to be passed, enabling all the slaves throughout this province to demand and obtain their freedom from their masters and mistresses, and at the same time prohibiting any being sent out of the province previous to the said Act's taking place.

"But if your Excellency and Honours cannot in wisdom adopt this plan of relief for us, we humbly and earnestly request that you would release us from bondage, by causing us to be transported to our native country within a short time, or by such other way or means as to your Excellency and Honours

shall seem good and wise upon the whole. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."[1]

July 29, 1773. In the same newspaper a week later appears an announcement that—

Any person in the country who wants to purchase two years and a half service in a strong, hearty white girl that understands all sorts of country work, may hear of such by inquiring of the printer.

Advertisements of the sale of men, women, and children, white and black, are too common in the journals of all the Atlantic States in Colonial times to require much specific notice. They run in terms from grave to gay, as the owner's mood suggests. During the Revolutionary War, for instance, some of the unhappy redemptioners endeavoured to escape to the British lines.

Ran away from Isaac Harris, living in Pittsgrove, Salem County, an English serving man named William Blackmore, about twenty-two years of age, 5 feet 5 or six feet high, light complexion, light straight hair, . . . very much addicted to swearing and getting drunk. He has run away several times, and has *an iron collar round his neck* marked I. H. and W. B. All recruiting officers are requested not to enlist him. He will endeavour to get to the Ministerial army if he has opportunity, for he is a great Tory.[2]

Visitors to the Tower of London may see, in a case in the Armoury, a collar of the sort worn by prisoners and captives two centuries ago. Probably William Blackmore wore the like in the year after the Declaration of Independence, when this advertisement appeared. William Blackmore's fair hair, light complexion, stature, and his cursing and drinking mark him down pretty clearly as one who would be likely to run away, and in America to be a Tory to boot.

As to the nature of this slavery, we may assume it

[1] *Massachusetts Spy*, Friday, 23rd July 1773.

[2] *Pennsylvania Journal*, 12th March 1777 (from Frank Moore's *Diary*).

did not lean too much in the direction of leniency. That was a coarse and strenuous age, of which the more repulsive features, the cold and sterile conditions of New England had little tendency to mitigate. Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, in her *Memoirs of an American Lady*,[1] devotes, in a very interesting book, a whole chapter to slavery as she remembered it in the colony of New York.

"In the society I am describing," says she, "even the dark aspect of slavery was softened to a smile." There were no field negroes, and the actual condition of the slaves reminded her of Abraham's servants. Yet she makes some curious admissions. If a slave proved restive under the yoke, "no severe punishments were inflicted at home." But the terrible sentence which they dreaded worse than death was passed—they were sold to Jamaica.

The necessity of doing this was bewailed by the whole family as a most dreadful calamity, and the culprit was carefully watched on his way to New York, lest he should evade the sentence by self-destruction.

Admirable provision, made in thoughtful mercy, lest the owner should not realise his dollars on the sale of his black chattel! Mrs. Grant is so often quoted on both sides of the Atlantic as an authority on manners and scenes in America in Colonial days that it is painful to discover that she, as little Miss MacVicar, quitted Albany (N.Y.) at the early age of thirteen, never to return to America, and that her memoirs were penned about forty years later. Her rosy views of slavery are probably due to the enchantment distance of time lends to retrospect. The servile outbreaks in New York in

[1] *An American Lady*, by Mrs. Anne Grant, Albany (Joel Munsell, 1876), edited by James Grant Wilson, chap. vii., "Reflections on Servitude." Mr. William Eddis, however, a surveyor of customs at Annapolis, 1770, takes a view of slavery, white and black, quite opposed to the "softened to a smile" theory of servitude. See his *Letters from America* (London, 1790), and, further, Marion G. M'Dougall, *Fugitive Slaves*, chap. i.

1712, and again in 1741, do not appear to have come under Mrs. Grant's notice. During the panic consequent on the rising of the slaves in 1741

> "the citizens," says Mr. Roosevelt, "went almost mad with cruel terror, and did deeds which make a dark stain on the pages of New York's history—deeds which almost parallel those done in the evil days of the Salem witchcraft persecutions, save that in New York there was really some ground for the anger and resentment of the persecutors. . . . Fourteen negroes were burnt at the stake, twenty hanged, seventy-one transported,[1] while of the twenty whites who were imprisoned four were executed. Among the latter was a priest called Ury, who was condemned without a shred of damaging evidence being produced against him, and was hung."[2]

Mr. Roosevelt takes a gloomy view of the influence of the white and black slavery on the quality of the town populations. He questions whether any class of immigrants of the nineteenth century were quite as bad as the white and black invasions of the eighteenth. Nearly all the vice and poverty of the towns was to be found among the people who had been bond servants, while both vice and poverty abounded.

Boston of to-day retains at least one pregnant bit of testimony to the *peculiar institution*, within the walls of Christ Church. This interesting church, the oldest church in Boston standing on its own ground,[3] contains high up in the interior of its west wall, on either side of the organ—a shallow gallery some feet above the west gallery allotted to "white Christians," and here it was, close to the roof, black slaves were allowed to worship.

Colonel George Washington in 1774 was negotiating for serfs to be sent from Scotland, or Ireland, or Germany for compulsory labour on his Ohio estate.

[1] That is, sold to sugar planters in Jamaica.

[2] Mr. Roosevelt (*New York* in Historic Towns Series, p. 98) is uncertain whether Ury was a nonjuring Anglican or a Roman priest. If the latter, it was death for him to say Mass anywhere in New York.

[3] Samuel Adams Drake, *Landmarks of Boston*, 1906, p. 213.

These unhappy wretches were either kidnapped for sale, or disposed of outright by Boards of Guardians or other such corporations who had control or care of young people. Dickens introduces Oliver Twist as being enslaved in this sense about 1820,[1] and this traffic to America continued without much check until about that date. Slavery in Boston lingered for two generations after the Declaration of Independence, and found its apologists in high social quarters, among the leading lawyers, the wealthy merchants, the prosperous manufacturers, right up to the beginning of the great Civil War.[2]

Boston therefore in 1775 presents in this respect somewhat similar features to the condition of Athens in 425 B.C., being a prosperous community of free citizens having its social foundations in an organised system of servitude, or of political disability, said to comprise more than half of the adult population.[3] Of the position of men of this class, the negro, and the bondman, in the impending struggle, something will be said further on: turn we now to another striking feature of the life of this colonial town.

Commerce.

The trade of Boston in 1770 had raised it to a position of high commercial importance on the Atlantic Coast, while its wealth was equitably distributed among the free citizens. Massachusetts Bay is a fine spread of water, well protected from the south-east by a great spur, shaped northwards and inwards like a hook. Along the edges of this shore lie towns of the importance of Gloucester, Salem, Marblehead, Lynn, Braintree, and Plymouth. Boston lies at about the middle of a gentle inward curve, and in 1770, confined itself to a pear-shaped peninsula formed by the confluence of

[1] "If a master finds in the case of a parish apprentice that he can get enough work out of a boy without putting too much food into him, he shall keep him for a term of years, to do what he likes with."—*Oliver Twist*, chap. iv.

[2] H. C. Lodge, *Boston*, chap. xi., in Historic Towns Series.

[3] *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, Geo. H. Moore, N.Y., 1866.

two rivers. Here a thriving trade in lumber, molasses, and fish, rendered imperative the construction of docks, wharves, quays, and piers. At the Long Wharf, ships of the largest tonnage of those days were berthed in
1765. any state of the tide. In the year of the Stamp Act, 150,000 great barrels of molasses had been landed in Boston. The molasses in due course was turned into rum, for which commodity Boston became famous: its distilleries being prominent features of the town.[1] Describing Boston a few years after the close of the Revolutionary War, Pemberton says, there had been in older colonial days twenty-seven dockyards in the town, and there had been as many as sixty ships on the stocks at the same time. Many of the Boston-built ships were put on to the ocean trade with England, freighted with naval stores, whale oil, peltry, and other goods. While some craft plied to the West Indies with fish, lumber, and rum, others were chartered to fetch away from New Guinea in barter for rum, the slaves consigned to Tobacco lords in Virginia and the Carolinas.

In this latter enterprise, the slave traffic, Pierre Faneuil made his fortune, out of which the Home of Liberty, Faneuil Hall, was built, and presented to the City. But paper money and the war broke up the shipping industry, which languishes in Massachusetts Bay, formerly the home of so much shipbuilding. Pemberton once saw as many as 400 vessels about the wharves and moorings in Boston harbour.[2] In these days huge vessels of thousands of tons, and the American shipping laws[3] have killed this kindly trade,

[1] Rum distilleries are no longer an important item of industrial enterprise in the city; there still remains, however at Medford, a suburb of Boston, a rum factory.

[2] Mr. S. A. Drake points out that here was built the frigate *Constitution*, the old Ironsides indelibly associated with the downfall of England's supremacy on the sea. The fitness of things which imputes the downfall of England's sea-power to Boston is obvious.

[3] The Shipping Laws are in their degree a re-enactment of the Navigation Acts, which, initiated by Cromwell, were afterwards

and now Boston Harbour is like Queenstown or Falmouth, a melancholy place haunted with the memories of the old high-fliers, the former clippers of the ocean. The Colonial city consisted of wooden buildings with an occasional structure, such as the old King's Chapel, of stone, or the old State House in State (King) Street, of brick, or Faneuil Hall of both stone and brick. Generally speaking Boston, being a mere huddle of little wooden houses, ran the risk, during the siege, of total destruction from fire. The significance of this inflammable condition of the town becomes clearer as the history of the War unfolds itself.

The State House associated with revolutionary agitation, stands where it stood, bearing on its front the Lion and Unicorn, telling of former British rule. These emblems, removed[1] in the fervour of inflamed national feeling, have in later days been restored by the sterling good sense of the Boston Fathers and citizens, who fully appreciate the value of historical continuity in things that meet the public eye. Actuated by the same spirit, they retain the name of the old King's Chapel, despite an attempt to re-name the building as the "Stone Church."

The streets too, as is the case with streets all over the Empire, had names reminiscent of older associations and memories. Here were Orange Street, King Street, Newbury Street, Essex Street, Cornhill, and other names, which Englishmen like to repeat in distant homes, to say nothing of Suffolk, in which county Boston stands, and Essex, of which Salem is the county town. Canterbury, Chichester, Portsmouth, Plymouth (there are a score or two of Plymouths in the States, and some Plymptons, names redolent of Devonshire), Sandown,

amended by twenty-nine revisions, and constituted a grievance in later colonial days contributory to the Revolutionary War. They enact that neither passengers nor freights may be carried between American ports, unless in ships built of American materials in American yards, and commanded by an American.

[1] At the publication of the Declaration of Independence in July 1776.

Richmond, Arlington, Waltham, and a host of other place-names culled from the shires and counties of the Motherland.

Puritan Influence.

The ordinary routine of Boston life was uneventful, and the Puritan spirit rendered life dull. The people, proud of their Puritan extraction, were ever reminding themselves of a moral elevation and an intellectual brightness peculiarly their own. The jealousies of Boston, of Salem, of Plymouth, as to where the purest or least defiled Puritanism was still inherent, are in their degree paralleled in these days by the jealousies of the people of Lexington and Concord as to the deeds of the day when the first shot was fired of which the echo rolled round the world—the Lexington people alleging that not one Concord man took part in the fray. Mr. John Adams's view of the superiority of New England to the rest of the world is doubtless still an article almost of faith in the pleasant City of Boston, where they rightly attach a high value to their own opinion about themselves.

"It was the most ingenious branch of the Teutonic race" said Admiral Belknap, "which furnished by far the largest part of the population of the Atlantic coast. The early settlers consisted of a picked population. The inhabitants of the English colonies, especially in New England, constituted a population which was more truly selected in respect of the mental vigour, intellectual inquisitiveness, enterprise, and self-reliance than any other considerable population which history knows."[1]

That this high view of their forefathers was a stimulating influence, as it is still, in the Councils of New England is beyond question. It has produced a quality of conscience called the New England con-

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, Military Section, paper read, 5th January 1897, by Rear-Admiral Geo. E. Belknap, U.S.N., quoting for the opinion expressed above Col. Francis Walker's *Making of the Nation*. It may be pointed out that the settlers in New England selected themselves, and that the gallant Admiral is such a master of history as to be able to make a comparison of this sort without local cavil.

science. It ignites a burning desire among respectable men and women to trace their descent back to a passenger by the *Mayflower*. This laudable feeling recalls that other ancestry, which "came over" with the Conqueror.

In 1770, and for many subsequent years the feeling displays itself in the Boston newspapers. In turning over the brittle, ill-printed, discoloured leaves of these old journals, printed in a city which was compelled by existing conditions as well as by law, to import paper, ink, the type, and the machine, one is struck by the proportionate excellence of the work. The type used in report and correspondence is small but clear, and the printers' errors are few. There are no leading articles, and very little local news. Incidents connected with breaches of the law, crimes, and misdemeanours are noticed in the briefest fashion. The trade announcements are unimportant. Events involving loss of life and property are noticed in a few lines. Thus, a ship is announced to have arrived in Boston, containing "250 Highlanders, of whom 81 had perished at sea, owing it is thought to her being insufficiently provided with food and water."[1] The miserable fate of these eighty-one immigrants is chronicled with biblical brevity. The journal is filled up with letters and poetry signed "Americanus," "A Lover of Britain," "Candidus," "Auditor," according to well-known eighteenth-century methods. Liberty and religion are the subjects on which the writers love to expatiate; except when there is an opening for furious invective directed against the Provincial Governor, the Chief-Justice, or some other official. Letters of the tone and temper of the following are frequent. It is called "The slavery of the people illustrated; an open letter to Governor Hutchinson."[2]

Newspapers.

[1] Cf. *Boston Evening Post*, 7th March 1774, and following issues.

[2] *The Massachusetts Spy*, Thursday, 4th March 1773. Printed in Boston by Isaiah Thomas near the Mill Bridge.

It is no doubt a sore trial to one in your situation to see the Commemoration of that bloody, cruel, and tragicall scene of the 5th March annually revived. Whatever reason you have to think it tends to disturb administration, or to inflame the minds of the people—be it known to you and to your infamous junto, that the friends of liberty are determined, in spite of your endeavours and of ministerial injunctions to the contrary, to keep up the memory of that bloody scene to the eternal disgrace and shame of that ignominious administration, and of all its abettors.

A series of the most savage attacks on Governor Hutchinson continues with little intermission, during a long succession of issues in 1773, whether in the *Boston Gazette* or the *Massachusetts Spy*, or in *Ede's and Gill's Newspaper*, maintained, among others, by one Ludlow, a *nom de plume* imputed by some contemporaries and by Hutchinson himself, either to the pen or to the example of Mr. Samuel Adams. Occasionally the Committee on Tarring and Feathering issue a warning to supporters of the Government: the Committee sign themselves Tarbucket, Pitch, Wild Fowl, Plaister, Brush, Scarecrow, and Handcart.[1] No interference with the printers for issuing letters or notices of this seditious or inflammatory sort was attempted. Appeal to the County Courts was of little avail. On 3rd July 1773 the Court of Common Pleas in Providence (R.I.), tried with the assistance of a jury an indictment of the *Massachusetts Spy* for false, malicious, and scandalous libel. A gentleman of Providence, being also a member of the Committee of Correspondence in that town, having been summoned before the King's Commissioners to answer a few questions, had obeyed an authority which was still established by law. For this act of compliance the Patriot newspaper denounced him, and on his seeking redress, the jury returned a writ of *ignoramus*. The *Spy* set up a huge clamour of pæan over this verdict. "The honest jury stood up," it was said, "for the liberty of the press." But liberty in 1773 had disappeared from the Atlantic States, wherever the Patriots reigned

[1] *Boston Evening Post*, 21st February 1774.

supreme. It appears to be one of the penalties of collective life, that the more people talk about religion and liberty, the less appreciation of personal liberty and personal religion they manifest in deed. Probably in no century was there more oratory and declamation about the blessings of freedom than fell from the lips and pens of men of the eighteenth century; probably in no century was there for the man of the street less personal freedom. Whether it be Chatham in the House of Peers, or Burke in the Commons, or the orators of Boston Common, who are speaking about freedom, there is in substance, as well as in fact, hardly an echo in their words of the real life of the people of those days in respect of liberty. Tarring and feathering on the Atlantic border; impressment, the pillory, the death penalties of the statute books in England; and the guillotine in France, placed very strict limitations on the free expression of sentiment, as well as on freedom of action.

Puritanism in New England in 1770 still controlled religious opinion, and public action, although with relaxed rein as compared with the stalwart regime of eighty years before, when witches were being hanged in Salem, and women accused of witchcraft were dying in Boston jail of starvation.[1] But it was still going strong. The Reverend Samuel Baldwin offers up thanksgiving, after the manner of Hugh Peters (also a New England man of an earlier day) that there is sufficient hemp left in the Colonies to hang all the Tories.[2] At Denvers, Isaac Wilson, a malignant, is

[1] Sarah Osburn died in Boston jail while awaiting trial in May 1692, being too feeble to resist the privations of prison life. The prisoners were compelled to supply at their own cost their own food and maintenance. Sarah was poor and died of cold and starvation. Another woman, after awaiting trial for thirteen months, *was sold to pay her prison fees.*

[2] *Memoir of Col. Jeauthun Baldwin*, privately printed, 1906. The gallant officer specialised, it is said, the now famous Baldwin apple. He was colonel and engineer in the Continental army, serving with Gates in 1777.

committed to gaol for not paying taxes in support of preaching "he did not hear." [1] The Mathers, a family of Calvinist Divines, which for five generations in succession, inclusive of Cotton Mather, who preached at the hanging of his brother divine for witchcraft at Salem, were still in possession of the old North Church, and the Thursday lecture, established with the foundation of the city, was as yet not suspended.

Puritanism has found many apologists, and probably what Mr. J. R. Green has left unsaid by way of panegyric of that scheme of life and conduct is hardly worth saying; but it had its drawbacks.

"It laid upon us," says the late Arnold-Forster,[2] "the tremendous curse of dulness and mediocrity, of the inability to enjoy ourselves, of want of taste, of want of toleration, defects which make our towns hideous, our amusements a byword, and the public amenities of life inferior to those of almost every other country."

According to all accessible testimony, Boston Puritanism was of an exceeding severe and superior kind. A man who had surveyed many cities tells us that nowhere in his many travels had he noticed such a strict legal observance of the Lord's Day as in Boston. The town was approached from the north end by a neck of land across which straddled a gate and a guard-house. This gate closed on Sunday, allowed no one on any pretext or for any cause whatever, to enter or leave the town. A stroll on the common on the Sabbath was punishable with a fine. If two or three neighbours in a knot stood chatting in the street they became immediately liable to severe penalties. This Sabbath rest was enforced from sundown of the Saturday preceding. Then, all shops, all taverns were closed, even barbers, at a time when shaving the head as well as the jaws was for men an almost universal custom, might

[1] *Boston Evening Post*, 22nd January 1774. On the Clergy in Boston, 1774, see an amusing set of verses quoted by S. A. Drake, *ibid.* p. 161.

[2] H. O. Arnold-Forster, *English Socialism of To-day*, p. 208.

not ply their trade; they were forbidden to dress the Sunday periwig after sunset or six o'clock of Saturdays, whichever should occur the earlier. It should, however, be added, that Sunday evening was treated as a time of social relaxation and intercourse.

On Sundays, the ministers of religion who ruled Boston, as well as the rest of New England, took advantage of any conviction for felony, to use the convict as an awful example. In 1773, Levi Ames was convicted of burglary and sentenced to death. Once every week between the time of the sentence and the day of his execution he was led, loaded with heavy fetters, clanking through the cobbled streets to some house of preaching, the Old North (the Mathers' Chapel), or to the old South, the official temple. A crowd of men and boys, with some of the Lydias and Mehitabels of the commoner sort, saluted Ames with hooting and an occasional reception egg on his painful way from jail. Every Congregational Minister in Boston had his turn with Ames. At Portland too the incident repeated itself. One Goodwin was convicted of murder, but his execution was delayed by three reprieves. Every minister in Portland in turn wrestled with the prisoner, who remained "in a bad frame and mad with everybody." On 3rd August, being Sunday, the Rev. Samuel Deane, Minister of the First Church of Portland, prepared and preached a sermon for Goodwin—*but he did not come.* Goodwin was kept hanging about between hope and despair for four months, until November, when the mob, who believed him innocent, threatened to attack the jail. It being concluded that to keep him alive longer was dangerous, the poor wretch was brought to meeting on 8th November, for sermon, and despatched on the following Thursday, during a discourse preached from Luke xxiii. 42 and 43, by the Rev. W. Clark.[1]

[1] *Diary* of the Rev. Samuel Deane, 1772, 14th June . . . 12th Nov. *Diary* of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1772, 3rd July . . . 28th October. The same custom prevailed in Albany, N Y. Prior to 1772 Portland was called Falmouth.

At the original settlement of Massachusetts in May 1631 it had been ordered that no person should be admitted to the rights of a citizen who had not been previously accounted a member of one of the Independent (Congregationalist) churches. More than a century elapsed before the city fathers would allow a rood of ground to be conveyed for the site of an Anglican church. The officials, the governors, and their little courts were all of the King's religion, and brought with them the fasts and the festivals (especially the festivals) and the observances of the ancient English Church. These officers and their way of interpreting Christian obligations were an offence and a stumbling-block to the Zephaniahs, the Preserveds, the Increases of New England. The gay weddings, the solemn funerals, the ceremonial of the Church services, the simple vestments, the fonts and organs, were bitterly resented as unwarrantable intrusions on the simplicity of Christian worship. On the other hand, the governors sent out from home, the military gentlemen, the little coteries of officials, resented the gloom and the austerity of the older Bostonese society. There had been days when Boston magnates had fined a man five shillings for eating a mince-pie on Christmas day; they had forbidden evergreens, the spruce, the laurel to be stuck about private houses at Christmas time; they had put a man in bilboes for trifling with an Easter egg.[1] The memory of these high powers, now departed or so attenuated as to be scarcely worth retaining, made good Calvinists sour and irritable. And the organ of the King's Chapel, the first ever used in Boston, probably excited in the choicer spirits as much disgust as it does in Mephistopheles in the play. The former animosites of Cavalier and Roundhead were thus in a

[1] Mr. S. A. Drake (*Old Landmarks of Boston*) gives in chapter i. a pleasant account of the old King's Chapel, which (1909) is no longer in the hands of the Episcopal (Anglican) Church in Boston, having passed into the possession of the Unitarian body. It is a plain little building, yet its interior is perhaps the most interesting of any church interior in Boston.

degree renewed, and aroused class against class. The Church party was suspected of being ready to introduce a bishop, and to bring the Colony under episcopal control. This suspicion tended to exacerbate feeling already sour. The notorious and long-standing disputes and antipathies of Church and Nonconformity were renewed in a country in which it was the Church that did not conform. The death of a well-known clergyman of the English Church, an emissary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had, during the agitation caused by the Stamp Act, aroused the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew to deliver a very violent sermon against Episcopacy. Mayhew, who died a year or two after the death of the English priest he had denounced, was not an advanced or High Calvinist. The High Calvinism of Whitefield following upon the extreme tenets of Jonathan Edwards had, by process of recoil from the savage preaching and doctrine of that form of extreme Puritanism, broken the power of the Genevan discipline in New England. From its first settlement New England had followed Geneva very closely,[1] but "when the doctrine was carried out into so broad a statement and result, learned men, clergymen and laymen, began openly to express their doubts, and to deny the system." For from

> . . . the first age of New England up to the establishment of the Charter of Massachusetts in 1692, it was a strictly religious one; the clergy governed the country, no measure of importance was adopted in which they were not consulted; they controlled public opinion and the usages of Society; everything partook of the religious feeling; every communication was expressed in Scripture phraseology, which in this age wears much the appearance of cant. But then it was not so; on the contrary it was the expression of a spirit deeply imbued with religious sensibility, although it cannot be denied that it was often used as a mask to cover the darkest hypocrisy and crime.[2]

[1] *Journal* of Rev. Thos. Smith, p. 109, *notes* (ed. William Willis).

[2] *Memoir* of the Rev. Samuel Deane, p. 297.

At any rate the revolt from Whitefield's methods and doctrine was strong enough to send Mayhew, Pastor of the West Church, a Harvard man and among the most learned of his time, over to Arianism, and to excite dissent in the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncey. Neither of these men was Puritan judged by the standards of the previous generation. Chauncey, who lived to a ripe age, and was Pastor of the First Church of Christ in Boston, remained a moderate Calvinist to the end. Mayhew, who died at a comparatively early age, appears to have had much insight in political matters and large personal influence. In the year of his death, he had suggested a plan for a regular system of intercolonial correspondence for combined action by the Colonies when requisite. This seed of Mayhew's sowing germinated in Samuel Adams's mind six years later. But both Mayhew and Chauncey opposed Episcopacy, not so much on Puritan as on Patriotic grounds. Mayhew engaged in a complex controversy prosecuted by printed sermons and tracts, retorts and replies about the conduct or misconduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[1] Dr. Chauncey, a man of milder and maturer judgment, pointed out that if "Bishops should make use of their superiority to influence our great men here, to project and endeavour to carry out measures to force the growth of the Church" the results would be hurtful. There was a real fear that Episcopacy supplied both pillars and buttresses for the monarchical structure. The men of New England dreamt still of Charles Stuart and William Laud. They ill understood the actual condition of the Church in England in their own day. Yet north of the Delaware in 1770 there were not a dozen self-supporting Churches; the remainder, numbering about sixty, were largely dependent on the bounty of the Society in London.

July 9, 1766.

[1] Mayhew's works are enumerated in Steven's Historical Collections.

The Church in England was at that time hardly equal to the task the New England Patriots supposed her to be eager to undertake. Perhaps a little more knowledge or enquiry might have enlightened them and abated their fears.

Meanwhile the old ecclesiastical influence remained, with no obvious signs of decay. From the earliest days of Boston there had been settled for every Thursday a lecture on some ecclesiastical subject to be delivered in the forenoon. People flocked in from Charlestown over the water, from Medford, from Arlington, and other adjacent places, Roxbury and Dorchester, for a day's outing on Thursdays.

After lecture came the punishments for offences, both ecclesiastical as well as civil. At the Neck end of the peninsula there stood a gallows, which for convenience sake was afterwards moved into a more central position. The pillory and the stocks, fixed up on trolley runners, were moved about to the places where the discipline of punishment would be most appreciated, which was generally adjacent to the door of some meeting-house. So too the whipping-post was a kind of movable feast for Boston. Penalties were rigidly enforced. Two young strolling players from England, for giving a little performance in a coffee-house, were pilloried. A good wife having boxed her husband's ears was chained to the whipping-post, with her face so fixed that the sun should scorch it. At the gallows much preaching took place when women or men were turned off. The Boston traditions tell of a madam who chose to be hanged in white silk dress, with corresponding finery. These details of raiment became, as Mr. Dennis tells us, the constitutional perquisites of the hangman. Public whipping was not uncommon in the nineteenth century. Mr. S. A. Drake mentions he has talked with old inhabitants of Boston who had seen this punishment inflicted.

Many persons have read of the penance of Hester Prynne, of which the principal features, though softened

somewhat by the gentler moods of the younger generations, still remained austere and somewhat pitiless. So the bilboes, the stocks, the pillory, the whipping-post were retained all the time of the Struggle for Independence, and the diversions of the public were left unscathed. To these shows or entertainments were added during the ten years of turmoil an occasional tarring or feathering of a prominent citizen, or an attack on the old prison, whenever public opinion disapproved of the conviction of a malefactor. To these operations of a lively populace may be joined, after the Stamp Act, attacks on the King's troops, as in twos and threes they strolled about in search of relaxation.

The pulpit and meetings for worship gave large opportunities for savoury discourse. The Puritan or Calvinistic scheme of worship, being at that time a one-man exercise, depended entirely upon the taste, judgment, tact, and common sense of the minister presiding.

The system or want of system provided an intemperate man of ability with vast opportunities of doing mischief; if, on the other hand, the minister were a fool, he could make the service as foolish as himself. The hearers of the Word liked their doctrine strong and well flavoured. They appointed their own pastor with a view to his putting into rhetoric every week, what he might find out to be the trend of political and ecclesiastical opinion. To keep their pastors in order they kept them low in this world's goods. Salaries of no very great figure were allowed, but it appears these were occasionally left unpaid. The Rev. Thomas Smith, pastor of the First Church in Portland, mentions in his most instructive Journal, that on 27th March 1765 the annual parish meeting voted to pay his full salary, and that of his colleague Mr. Deane. There was a petition before the meeting that a section of the congregation might be exempted from paying Mr. Deane's salary, but the petition was dismissed. Mr. Smith closes his entry with Thanks

to God. Both these pastors had done a year's work; the agreement with them had been for payment every six months; the question before the parish meeting was whether Mr. Smith should be paid in full, and whether Mr. Deane should be paid at all. Both these pastors were acceptable men, graduates of Harvard, and in good touch with their people. The case of weaker men may be imagined. If these Journals are to be credited the ministers of religion had a very hard time of it—surrenders of claims on arrears of salary seem to have been enforced. Dismissals of ministers were frequent. Great excitement about sermons, culminating in assault and battery, took place in vestries. The younger members went off on horseback on the Sabbath "frolicking" after strange preachers. The scenes at ordination were riotous. Of Mr. Smith's Journal much was suppressed because of the searching and faithful nature of the comments on the behaviour of prominent members of his flock. There are obviously great gaps in his record, and it is highly likely that judicious editing has omitted much that might have been cause of considerable scandal. This peculiarly close dependence of the ministers of religion on the immediate goodwill of the people for their daily bread, must be taken into account in connection with their well-known hostility to the Provincial Government, the Anglican Church, and the British Ministry. The root of bitterness was vital for a long time. Seventy years later Charles Dickens, whose theological sympathies were then in the direction of Unitarianism, said:

> The peculiar province of the pulpit in New England would appear to be the denouncement of all innocent and rational amusements—the church, the chapel, the lecture-room, the only means of excitement excepted; and to the church, the chapel, and the lecture-room the ladies resort in crowds.

Amusements.

For other amusements in 1770 Bostonians looked abroad in vain. In all New England there was no theatre, but some provision was made for music in a concert

hall of good size. Contemporary advertisements[1] reveal a taste for the practice of instrumental music, which appears to have been so far prevalent as to maintain at least one shop for the sale "for cash" of French horns, hautboys, bassoons, drums, English and German flutes, with other instruments.

Anthem music was used in places of worship, especially in the meeting-houses of the Congregational or State Church. Probably, however, the concert hall was more frequently occupied by the Sons of Liberty talking sedition, or by Masonic Lodge meetings, than by musicians. It was here that in a later year of the Struggle for Independence, the magnates of Boston entertained Admiral Count d'Estaing and the officers of the French fleet at a grand ball; while the Boston "Boys" outside were hammering the French sailors for the notorious failure of the French admiral in those waters. The serious society of Boston sympathised with the "Boys," and expressed grave dissatisfaction at this frivolous and tactless use of their concert hall.

Notwithstanding the somewhat featureless, if not repellent aspect of this side of Boston life, there were many private diversions. Cock-pulling, bear-baiting, and dog-fights provided a genteel excuse for a busy idleness. Gambling in public lotteries was legal. In 1774, during the time of British oppression by a brutal soldiery, the lottery on behalf of Harvard College called for attention at the hands of a somewhat apathetic public. The managers state there are *not* to be two blanks for every prize, as had been perfidiously put about, but only one, and they invite subscribers to pay up at once with a view to realising the stakes.[2]

Playing-cards, though forbidden by statute, were publicly offered for sale. An advertisement announces

[1] Such advertisements appear in the *Boston Evening Post* and the *Massachusetts Spy* of that time. For anthems, see the close of the obsequies of the Rev. Thomas Smith, Editor's Preface to his Journal.

[2] *Massachusetts Spy*, 24th March 1774. Money for Brown University and Dartmouth College raised in same way.

the arrival of a large consignment of Harry the Eighth playing-cards, an announcement appearing before the arrival of the heavy reinforcement of troops in 1774; consequently the charge that card-playing and gambling were due to the example and habits of British officers appears to be without adequate evidence. Captain Francis Goelet was a visitor to Boston twenty years anterior to the agitation against the British, and before it became the custom to trace all transgression to British example.[1] Goelet was a New York merchant adventurer, who had business relations in Boston, of which he has left most amusing and convivial account. Cards, music, drinking, punch, jaunts into the country with his fair friends, and generally a free consumption of cakes and ale furnish the materials for the copious entries of his journal.

*6th October* 1750.—Went to the ship, from thence to Mr. Weatherhead's and to change, had an invitation to dine with some gentlemen at Mr. Richardson's in Cambridge. We were about fifteen or sixteen of us in company. All rode out in chairs, drank plentifully, toasted the ladies, singing, etc. At dusk in the evening returned to Boston and spent the evening at Capt. Mcglaughlins with some ladies at cards.

In fact, there were copious good living and plenty of eating and drinking.[2] To abstain from the punch-

[1] Goelet's Diary, *N. E. Historical Register* (Boston, 1870); cf. also Prof. Hart's extracts called "Roisterers in Boston," No. 84 of *American History told by Contemporaries*, ii. 240-43. See especially his account of 6th October 1760. Chastellux, a General of the French army, who came to America with the French expeditionary force, and was a man of keen observation, speaks of the high play current in Boston.

[2] Advertisements afford evidence of elaborate table appointments as well as of good living. Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins apprises the public that she has for sale: Dinner glass, cut, labelled, enamelled, engraved, or quite plain. She has *cruitts*, *wines*, *waters*, *salts*, *tumblers*, *jellies*, *syllabubs*, *orange-glasses*, *salvers*, *sugars*, *patties*, *sweetmeats*, and *pickles*.

With these varieties of glassware are offered for sale, anchovies in kegs, capers by the pound, and the finest olives. It would appear that Mr. John Adams's account of luxury in Philadelphia in 1774

bowl on any ground other than that the drinker did not like the particular brew of punch, would have smacked somewhat too much of the nature of dead works, that a good Calvinist should lay aside either his pipe or his glass.

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may have been accentuated by his only partial acquaintance with the high society of Boston.

# CHAPTER III

THE STORM CENTRE, BOSTON—COMMERCE AND "FREE TRADE"—THE "MASSACRE" AND THE "TEA-PARTY"

THE mercantile class and the professions dependent on commerce constituted the best society of Boston, and the mercantile class for the most part were contrabandists or smugglers. Men are now agreed that to ensure stability in a young community, there must be at least three co-efficients of work: the men must be both intelligent and hardy, the place itself must contain some accessible natural resources, and the settlers must be free from artificial commercial restrictions. But paternal governments have a propensity for creating limitations and restrictions. The Lords of Trade in London, better known to us nowadays as the Board of Trade, presumed to know how to manage Boston commerce better than did the merchants of Boston. The Lords of Trade for some years after the conquest of Canada, had watched with care the inward and outward commerce of the town with a view to taxation. The veteran Franklin, a man as old as the century itself, had furnished the Ministry with reasons why American trade should help to pay Imperial expenses.

"The sea is yours," said he, "you make it safe for navigation, you keep it clear of pirates, you are therefore entitled to some toll or duty on merchandise carried through the seas, towards the expense." At that time such an argument was felt to be unimpeachable. The self-governing colonies of our own day do as a matter of practical wisdom exert themselves strenuously to aid

in maintaining the freedom of the King's highway overseas; Canada alone does not see her way to an organised interpretation of her duty to the Empire; but in the eighteenth century nobody questioned that it was the duty of the daughter countries to assist in every way their aged parent. Mr. Burke, in a well-known passage, of which the imagery has perhaps fallen a little out of favour, enlarges pathetically on this aspect of inter-imperial relations. Yet of this universally accepted principle, as in another classic instance, the difficulty lay in its application. In a fateful hour the Lords of Trade cast their eye upon Boston. That city and the West Indies had for years carried on a thriving interchange of commodities, which employed quite a large fleet of ships, and found occupation for thousands of men. There had been a goodly amount of restrictions and limitations of which the British statute-book was the repository. Yet a stormy sea, hundreds of miles of coast, a scanty and scattered population, rendered the evasion of these restrictions only too easy, and made smuggling a profitable recreation; consequently, of all the goods brought over the seas to Boston, the bulk was contraband. It is not a mark of good breeding to enquire closely into the source of any gentleman's income, yet in a little town, colonial or European, much more is often known about a man than he knows himself: hence many strange stories were told about the Hancocks, the Cushings, the Phillipsons, the Wendells, the Quinceys, the Masons, the Powells, and the Hills. These appear to have been the leading mercantile families, and if they had not made their money for the most part by dealing in contraband, their reputation has been hardly dealt with. The bustle, the activity at the wharves and offices which cleared outward a thousand vessels annually, was directed and inspired by these families. Probably, as is customary in small isolated towns, inter-marriage had rendered them all like one clan or tribe, with common interests and one mind. Any measure likely to interfere with their commerce, or

any tightening of commercial and statutable knots and ties, hitherto relaxed by the wear and tear of years, would naturally be productive of intense surprise, then dismay, then indignation, then violence. Many among the heads of families held office as deacons or elders or what-not, under the Congregational ministers. Their relation with the ministers being very close, both by official and social ties, the man in the pulpit and the man in the pew had good reason to be at unity in themselves. Hence falling revenues, diminished expenditure, decreasing comforts, waning consideration, always quick to arouse exaggerated estimates of impending ruin, excited in Boston dismal forebodings, both in ministers and people. Upon a society in this condition of irritated anticipation, the new rules for the suppression of smuggling fell with the force of a sledge hammer. Both ministers of religion and merchants whose daily bread depended upon "free trade" saw themselves threatened with ruin.

Writs of Assistance.

Probably no device more exasperating than the device called Writs of Assistance, could have been authorised by official fussiness. To check smuggling a Minister has but to remove taxation, as did Mr. Pitt in 1786, in the case of the universal smuggling of tea into Great Britain. The misfortunes of his official predecessors had taught Mr. Pitt that to suppress by statute smuggling, a trade full of the charm of adventure, highly prosperous, and redolent of that spirit of disobedience so alluring to thoughtless men, a trade with its heroes, its traditions, its stirring episodes, its ballads, and its dishonesty, was beyond the power of Parliament; so by reducing the tax on tea from 119 per cent to 12½ per cent, Pitt ruined tea smuggling. But the British Board of Trade some thirty years earlier in the century, untaught by the experience of the excisemen of Great Britain, dreamed of enforcing the laws against smuggling along the vastly extended coastline of America. They sent instructions to their colonial agents and officials to authorise unrestricted and

unlimited interference with a colonial man's home under the form of Search Warrants.

Search warrants.

A search warrant is a paper issued by a Justice of the Peace or his equivalent in authority, directing an officer of the peace to search specified premises for or with a specified object or purpose, with a further instruction to report on the proceedings on the warrant within a specified time, or in technical language, to return the warrant to the source of issue. The restrictions or safeguards are numerous enough to render a warrant comparatively innocuous, and the misuse of a warrant may easily give rise to legal reprisals. What then shall be said of a warrant given to a petty official, to search any house at any time under any circumstances for what he may choose to think concealed in the premises; empowering him also to call upon any man in the street to assist in the search? Locks, bolts, and bars yield before this power, the exciseman must reign supreme.[1] In his remarkable speech against these powers conferred under the newly minted Writs of Assistance, Mr. James Otis gave a forcible and amusing example of how such vast delegated authority worked. He alleged that Mr. Justice Walley had called an exciseman up before him to answer for breach of certain Sabbath-day Acts, and for profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, the exciseman asked him if he had done. The justice replied "Yes." "Well, then," said Mr. Ware, the exciseman, "I will shew you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods," and went on to search his house from the garret to the cellar.

Beyond reasonable doubt these Writs of Assistance did most seriously violate the first principles of British Constitutional liberty, and no candid mind will fail to

[1] It was reported in 1908, in New York papers, that after a great wedding the house of a well-known multi-millionaire was entered, and searched for dutiable goods under warrants, something like these "Writs of Assistance."

admit the cogency of the objections of Mr. Otis. It is among the ironies of things, that so brilliant a thinker and speaker should have been maimed and permanently disabled in a drunken brawl, and finally perish struck by lightning. His mental gifts and fine power of speech made him of all Americans the most prominent in the early stages of the Revolutionary movement. No keener defender of their rights is to be found among American Patriots. He was an ardent defender of the ample privileges and great freedom already enjoyed by the people of the American Colonies.

No communities of that period asserted with equal insistence the principles of liberty and equality. Few communities have been so unhappy in the interpretation of these principles as were the people of New England. It was quite impossible for a society based upon forced labour and slavery, and controlled by a Calvinistic theocracy, to appreciate the precious gifts of reasoned freedom. The people of Boston, of New Plymouth, of Salem, seem to have become like spoilt children, impatient of all restraint, and to have resented with almost unexampled malevolence any hint or suggestion of limitation of their personal or collective action. Such grievances as they then felt, every European country had to tolerate in greater degree. If they had to endure indifferent governors and vexatious trade restrictions, and certain social disadvantages, their case was infinitely superior to the case of their neighbours near or more remote. Mr. John Adams's boast, uttered in 1775, after the "tyrannies" of the Stamp Acts, Writs of Assistance, Acts of Trade, Boston Massacres, and all the rest of it, was substantially true: "New England has, in many respects, the advantage of every other colony in America, and indeed of every other part of the world that I know of."

Boston society, the solid men and their families, found British officers and British officials aggressive in the execution of duty. Consequently, between the military and civil servants of the Crown and the high

*bourgeoisie* of Boston, relations became very much strained.

It was upon the prosperous mercantile classes who, at that time, all over the area of the English-speaking peoples were inclined to be Whig or Liberal, it was upon this touchy and most sensitive class that the Ministerial whip fell with intolerable sharpness.

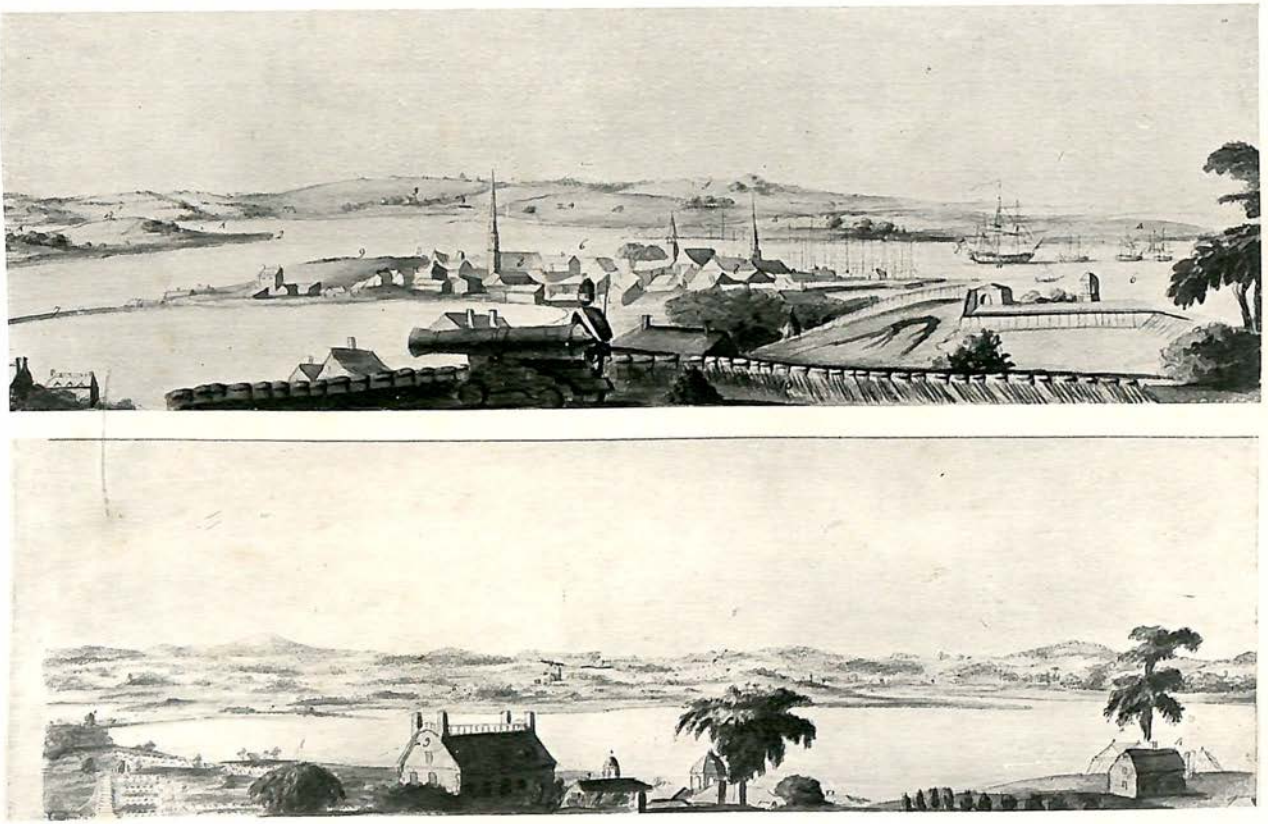
After nearly two centuries of experience, in many cases painful experience, it is still in some quarters a dominant notion that all culture and refinement fade and disappear with the Eddystone and the Fastnet lights. If Canada still complains that she finds supercilious the young man whom England finds superfluous, Boston in 1775, had some reason to complain of the methods and manners of her kinsfolk from the eastward over the Atlantic, who had come to help manage Colonial affairs.

When Colonial gentlemen with their wives and young ladies strolled on Boston Common, they could not fail to be struck by the behaviour of the gentlemen from England, who quizzed and ogled the ladies, and damned the provincials for their incessant grumbling, their disloyalty, their want of refinement, their bad tailors,[1] their clumsy shoemakers.

Boston Common is not an extensive piece of open ground. Intersected and crossed in all directions now by broad walks and pathways, planted with elms of scanty foliage, and adorned with memorials of wars, which the future American will be glad to forget, the Common offers no space for camp or quarters; but in 1774, one solitary elm is said to have been the prominent adornment of a bit of rough rolling land which afforded a coarse pasture to a few cattle and sheep.

The force, usually called in those days the Ministerial troops, encamped on the Common, on the borders of

[1] Not without reason it appears. Tailoring in America was not good. Washington bought his clothes in England—not from choice but from necessity; cf. an interesting and amusing chapter in *The True George Washington*, by Paul L. Ford, chapter vii., "Tastes and Amusements."



TWO OF SIX VIEWS OF BOSTON AND ENVIRONS.

Taken from Beacon Hill by Lieut. Williams of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, showing lines, encampment of Rebel forces, 1776.

which the idle, the curious, the Whig separatists, and the Tory admirers of the British Government, gathered under the attraction of that glamour ever attaching to military encampments and occupations. Mr. John Hancock, the wealthiest and best-dressed man in Boston, owned a handsome house overlooking the Common, from the saddle of Beacon Hill, from which he might at any time look downwards towards the bustling evolutions of the soldiers, hear the trumpet call to the morning's work, and the evening warning for lights out in the canvas city; or enquire of Mr. Samuel Adams, with his shabby red cloak, and coarse shoes, what measures must be set afoot to counterfoil the effect of all this splendid display of an obviously irresistible force. All day citizens sauntered about, some scowling and muttering, others gleeful and anxious to please. The British did not enter into the intricacies of local politics, and damned the Bostonians for a lot of surly chuffs, who had already got a great deal more of liberty and prosperity than old England enjoyed, and did not know when they were well off. The Bostonian malcontents spread reports slandering both officers and men.

We are constantly agitated by hearing complaints of the more than savage barbarity of the soldiers in Boston, who are become so insolent that it is hardly safe to walk the streets at noonday; there seems to be no check or control; they are countenanced and encouraged by their superiors in their lawless outrages; and appear to be a banditti of lawless freebooters, just let loose on us for the innocent and laudable purposes of robberies, rapes, and murders; nor can we see any prospect of avoiding these calamities but by a general evacuation of the town.

Some more follows in the same strain, yet ends with an admission that "people in general do not seem inclined to go out of Boston."[1]

[1] Abridged slightly from Frank Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, i. 54, 55. The reader will kindly observe that America was and is the land of superlatives. Peyton Randolph in October

There is little evidence that the soldiers behaved badly in Boston. Most of the evidence lies in the opposite direction. Earl Percy commanded the troops on the Common in 1774, during the absence of Governor Gage in Salem, and his successful exertions to keep young officers and their men in order were then matters of common knowledge. The Selectmen of the town appealed to him from time to time to enforce their regulations, and were met by him with unvarying courtesy.

But they and the Bostonians impressed him unfavourably.

"They are," he says, "in general made up of rashness and timidity. Quick and violent in their determinations, they are fearful in the execution of them (unless indeed they are quite certain of meeting with little or no opposition, and then like all other cowards, they are cruel and tyrannical). To hear them talk you would think they would attack us and demolish us every night, and yet whenever we appear, they are frightened out of their wits."[1]

As to the subsequent behaviour of the British troops in the town, more is said further on. There were as usual some petty outrages in the neighbourhood of the Common. Mr. John Hancock's Whig predilections became widely known, and his house did not escape molestation. His fences were broken, and some of his shrubs injured, yet no serious damage was done. On his application to the commanding officer for protection from further annoyance, the General immediately sent one of his aide-de-camps to the officer of the guard at the lower end of the Common to seize "any

1774, having made the usual complaints, Gage (20th Oct.) replied: "Nothing can be further from the true situation of this place than your statement. No troops have given less cause for complaint and greater care was never taken to prevent it, and such care and attention was never more necessary from the insults and provocation daily given both to officers and men."

[1] *Earl Percy's Letters*, edited by Charles K. Bolton, Boston, Mass. Cf. also Chief-Justice Hutchinson's letters, dated Boston, Oct. 1763.—Hutchinson's *Correspondence*.

officer or private who should molest Mr. Hancock or any inhabitant in their lawful calling."[1]

The entries in Sir Wm. Howe's Orderly Book reveal the terrible punishments inflicted upon the private soldiers for breaches of civil law or military discipline occurring during the military occupation of Boston by the British.

The provincials retorted, sometimes by the most studied insolence, sometimes by violent denunciation. The deacon of a Boston Meeting House complained that the officers of a regiment caused a drum and fife drill with marching and counter marching to continue during the whole period of a diet of worship. The officers of the regiment complained that their men were incessantly maltreated and wounded by Boston Boys in the streets, and that the magistrates either will not or cannot protect them.

"Matters," says Mr. Fortescue, "reached such a pitch, that on the application of two privates to General Mackay for redress after a murderous assault upon them, the General was fain to give them half-a-guinea apiece, and advise them to abandon the prosecution of their assailants, since however good their cause was, there was no redress for soldiers in Boston."[2]

The riotous and savage demeanour of the Boston Boys towards the British soldiers was openly encouraged by the town magistrates. In the earlier stages of fierce agitation in Boston there were but few soldiers, and these were always kept well in hand. It was not till 1774 that the town began to fill up with redcoats; the 4th, the 43rd, the 5th, the 38th, the 59th, the Royal Welsh Fusiliers (23rd), part of the 65th, the 18th, the 47th, the 10th, the 52nd regiments, with artillery and details.

Prior to their arrival, which began in June of that year, there had been a mere handful of men; a few

Military occupation of Boston.

[1] Cf. Frank Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, i. 54.

[2] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 36-39—an important review of the state of affairs in Boston, 1770.

companies of the 40th, 29th, 64th, 65th regiments, perhaps 1600 men in all, constituted the whole garrison of Boston. There were no barracks in the
June 1774. town, and when in September of that year artisans were set to work at constructing quarters for the troops, the house carpenters after a few days' work went out on strike. Menaces of tarring and feathering frightened them from their contracted obligations.[1] The mercantile and military classes being then in a state of ferment, the times matured for the full profession of the Home Rule doctrine, and for the advocacy of its principles. It is quite obvious to all persons instructed in the history of the eighteenth century, that the American enjoyed in 1774 a larger and fuller measure of liberty than did any citizen, in Yorkshire or Middlesex. There were no ignorant and brutal justices of the peace, with summary jurisdiction and indefinite statutory powers, sown thick over the land. There was no press-gang, and no sub-conscious influence of a highly placed, wealthy, loose-living, and corrupt class, to create in weak minds false ideals of life, and to stimulate feeble imitators of degenerate conduct. If they had only known it, the American Colonists enjoyed more personal freedom at that time than any people in the world; greater freedom than they were able to appreciate, or to allow to others, whose convictions were morally as well founded, and as sound as their own; greater too, than has ever since been the lot of any American in his own land. Even Mr. Frothingham admits that under the older régime—

[1] "The carpenters employed in building Barracks left work last week, by the advice of Selectmen and the committee of correspondence."—*Boston Gazette*, 3rd October 1774. "The Sons of Liberty thought proper to issue this order to the carpenters to desist from working for the troops, under pain of their displeasure. And one man who paid no attention to their orders, was waylaid, seized by the mob, carried off, and narrowly escaped hanging."—Captain Evelyn to Rev. Dr. Evelyn, 31st October 1774. These methods of peaceful persuasion prevailed. Mr. Frothingham in his *Siege of Boston* marks his approval.

. . . persons and property were secure, and labour was less burdened with restrictions, and more free to reap a fair reward than it was in any country in the world. In a word there grew up a system of local administration well suited to the condition of a rising people, united to a general organization capable in any emergency of affording it protection. The Colonists in the enjoyment of so large a measure of individual freedom developed in a remarkable degree the resources of the country, and increased surprisingly its commercial and political importance.[1]

It is quite certain that the revolver and the bowie knife did not in colonial days settle on sight the differences between capable citizens. It is also certain that in the towns it was not then the custom of men of the legal profession, nor of editors, nor commercial men to carry murderous weapons about their persons with a view to summary practice; nor was lynching a recognised proceeding of popular administration of justice.[2] It was during the years 1763–1783 that Americans picked up that "love of killing" with which a keen observer of their ways of life credits them.[3] And it was on the persons of fellow countrymen whose convictions were opposed to their own that Patriots became inured to murder as an experimental science.

The boundless measure of their personal and public liberty is demonstrated by the frequency, the violence, the insubordination, the disloyalty of their public meetings.

"The local assemblies of the towns," says Mr. Frothingham, "were used with immense efficiency by the Patriots of the Revolution. Here dangerous political measures were presented to the minds of the citizens. Here public opinion was con-

[1] *History of Siege of Boston*, p. 2, 6th ed., 1903.

[2] Lynching is said to be named after Colonel Lynch, a member of the Continental Congress of 1774; but the custom is traced to an earlier source to one John Lynch, a farmer who shot or hung runaways or criminals captured in the Dismal Swamp (N. Carolina).

[3] Lieut. Anburey, *Travels in America* (*1776–1781*), published in London, 1789.

centrated, sternly set against oppression, and safely directed in organised resistance."

This sentence contains within itself its own refutation. Open public meetings cannot occur under any system of oppression. The New Englanders held their meetings when and where and how they pleased. They voted a man into the chair, and appointed a secretary with the same absence of restraint as may be noticed either in the Ecclesiazusae, or in the perhaps better known assembly of the Women of Dorking. They had more freedom of public meeting than is enjoyed in France or Germany at this day, or than was then enjoyed in England itself. To talk about oppression when men say or write what they please ;[1] and concert military demonstrations when and where they like ; and collect, distribute, and learn the use of weapons with impunity, is really to insult the intelligence of the reader. It is, however, what notoriously Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Frothingham have done in works which occasionally deserve some respect. But their industry and minuteness simply increase their influence to mislead. It was under this system of "oppression" that the caucus, which still, in America, dominates the working of state and national politics, was freely fostered. There were in Boston three caucuses of great influence and activity, one working in each of the three important sections of the town.

"They agreed," says Mr. Frothingham, "whom they would support for town officers, whom they would name on committees, what instructions they would pass, what important measures they would carry out."

[1] Cf. "Address to the arch-traitor Hutchinson, on his quitting Massachusetts. It is to be hoped you have now wreaked all your malice against the place of your nativity. You are now going to leave it in ruins. But know! If the curse of a whole people can have any effect, you will never have another peaceful moment." The Governor is compared to Magormissabib, and is called "an enemy of the human race." This appeared in the *Boston Journal*, on the front page ; cf. also *Spy*, 24th March 1774.

An extract from Mr. John Adams's Diary shows the condition of these "oppressed" citizens in caucus assembled:

> The Caucus Club meets at certain times in the garret of Tom Dawes, the adjutant of the Boston Regiment. He has a large house, and he has a moveable partition in his garret, which he takes down, and the whole club meet in one room. Then they smoke tobacco until you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other. There they drink flip, I suppose, and there they choose a moderator, who puts questions to the vote regularly, and selectmen, assessors, collectors, wardens, firewards, and representatives are regularly chosen before they are chosen in the town.

Mr. Dawes was major of the Boston Regiment in 1774, and became colonel in 1775. There was at this time an official force, armed and equipped at Colonial expense, and under the control of the Provincial Governor. It consisted of artillery, horse, infantry, and a kind of military train. The North and South batteries were occupied by this force of artillery, while, as there were no municipal police, the rest of the force were the guardians of the peace and order of Boston.

But during all the years of Tory hunting and soldier baiting nothing is heard of these guardians of the peace. A good deal is heard of them at caucuses and meetings.

Major Dawes treated his comrades of the caucus and their guests very well. Mr. John Adams notes with approbation that he was regaled with punch, wine, pipes, tobacco, biscuits, and cheese. The sympathetic attitude of the citizen troops makes it obvious that in an emergency the forward Patriots could rely upon their support. The Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company was much admired for smartness and efficiency.[1] Mr. John Andrews reports that he saw them go through sundry evolutions in King Street "with more

[1] King George V. has been recently made an honorary member of this corps, which is practically an offshoot of the London Company.

exactness than any performance of the troops since they've been here." Whether Mr. John Andrews thought the honourable artillery of Boston smarter than the King's troops, or improved in consequence of their training, is ambiguous, and in King Street, Boston, there was little room for evolutions. At any rate this fully armed militia, being practically at the disposal of the Patriots, could, with the aid of the mob, have quite easily crushed the small British force quartered in Boston before 1774. In fact, it was an open threat, after the scuffle in March 1770 called "The Massacre," that if the two regiments forming the garrison did not leave the city at once they would be killed to a man. As the whole force at the disposal of the Government of Massachusetts did not then amount to 500 men of all ranks, and as there were no mounted troops attached to this little force, there can be no reasonable doubt but that Boston could have fulfilled her threat. In estimating the movements of the time, the anomalous condition of a Colonial Governor and his administration left without adequate means of enforcing his authority, and thus made an object of derision, should be kept steadily in view.[1]

The temper of the Provincial troops in Massa-

[1] When Britain first, her wars to wage,
Sent o'er the conquering champion Gage,
With fleets and armies doomed to wait
His nod, that seemed the nod of Fate;
When care each anxious brow o'erspread,
And every patriot shook his head,
We now deemed certain mischief brewing,
The Hero's wrath, and our undoing.

We saw, it was a thousand pities,
Our gallows choking Whig committees,
Our moderators nailed up like vermin,
And gate posts stuck with heads of chairmen;
Our Congress for wave offerings hanging,
And ladders thronged with chiefs haranguing;
Yet, is this mighty huff and vapour,
Reduced to wrangling upon paper?

While speech meets speech, and fib meets fib,
And Gage still answers squib with squib.

*Connecticut, 18th Dec.* 1774 PHILIP FRENEAU.

chusetts is displayed by the conduct of the guard under whose custody Governor Hutchinson placed the tea ships. This was the Independent Company of Cadets, from the command of which Mr. John Hancock was afterwards removed for seditious practices. Later on the Cadets disbanded themselves, and returned the colours together with their commissions to the Governor.

Added to the disloyalty of the Provincial troops was the influence of the Press. Early in the century Boston began the work of American journalism with the *News Letter*. Seventy years later there were six Boston newspapers: the *Chronicle*, the *Evening Post*, the *Gazette*, the *Spy*, the *News Letter*, the *Post Boy*, of which four, inclusive of the *Spy*, disappeared in 1777. 1704.

Of these journals in 1774 the most influential was the *Spy*, published on alternate days, except Sunday—"a political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none," as the printers alleged, but altogether at the service of the stalwart Patriots: a short-lived journal put forward by smart men at a critical time, and withdrawn after a run of a few years. There is nothing much to choose between this paper and its contemporaries in respect of its literary merit.

"It was," says Mr. Frothingham, "more spicy, more in the partisan spirit, less scrupulous in matter, and aimed less at elegance of composition than at clear, direct, and efficient appeal."[1]

The columns of the *Spy* and of other journals were filled with correspondence, reports of meetings, and cuttings from European or London papers. The debates in the House of Commons affecting America were reported in full, so also was the incident of the Franklin letters. The very brief comments or articles are quite devoid of literary merit. The correspondence

[1] It is not easy to find out on what Mr. Frothingham relies for this estimate of the relative value of the Boston papers. A fairly extensive examination of them does not reveal much difference between the *Spy* and its contemporaries.

and reports frequently embody passages of amazing insolence. For instance, the Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, Mr. Oliver, being very scantily paid, had applied again and again for an increase of pay. No notice had been taken of these appeals. In course of time, as justice is the King's prerogative, and as judges in England were nominally paid by the Crown, and held office *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and as the volume of complaints had increased, alleging that in Massachusetts justice was not to be had by the Tory or Loyalist party so long as Colonial judges were paid a small yearly salary and liable to dismissal by the intolerant Whig ascendancy, King George III. thought fit to apply to Massachusetts his personal share of the constitutional rights about which Boston clamoured so much, and issued an order that he would appoint and pay his own deputies himself. On this the *Boston Evening Post* published a statement informing Mr. Oliver that his meagre salary of £400 a year was as much as he was worth; gave him the lie direct to certain statements he had made about his emoluments before he became Chief-Justice; asserted that he was the servant of the Massachusetts Legislature and not of the Crown; and that unless he danced to the tune of their pipe and to their satisfaction he merited punishment for high crimes and misdemeanours. After seventeen years' service as Chief-Justice, Oliver found himself indicted in a kind of impeachment, drawn up by Mr. Samuel Adams in terms of studied impertinence, wherein he was accused of privately influencing the Ministers of the Crown to raise his salary, and to become responsible to him for its regular payment. Adams was deputed to wait upon the Governor with this precious document, and on the Governor (Hutchinson) refusing to forward the complaint to the Home Government, Adams returned to his colleagues clothed in grievances, and the Patriot journals burst ablaze with flaming anonymous invective. Not long afterwards Chief-Justice Oliver left the country, was outlawed, and his beautiful house at

Cambridge was handed over to the patriotic Eldridge Gerry.[1]

The power and mischievous influence of these journals, their sudden rise, and equally sudden disappearance, point to the inference they were subsidised by wealthy Whigs of the John Hancock class, and that the subsidies disappeared with the triumph of the Whigs. In other cities of the Atlantic border, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Charleston, the yellow press established a kind of reign of terror. The *Philadelphia Evening Post* was the organ of a committee which, by espionage and threats of violence, governed Philadelphia. To call King George by a whole cadence of names, from Nero, Attila, Alva to the Button-making Idiot of Britain, became the common means of spacing out a line or two of unmeasured vituperation. Nor were these effusions confined to the columns of journals printed in the Colonies. A remarkable amount of seditious literature was written and printed in London, for reprinting in New York and Boston. Some of these compositions are after the style of the *Letters of Junius*. They referred to the King as the "greatest criminal in England," and to others about the King as a bloody Court, a bloody Ministry, and a bloody Parliament.[2]

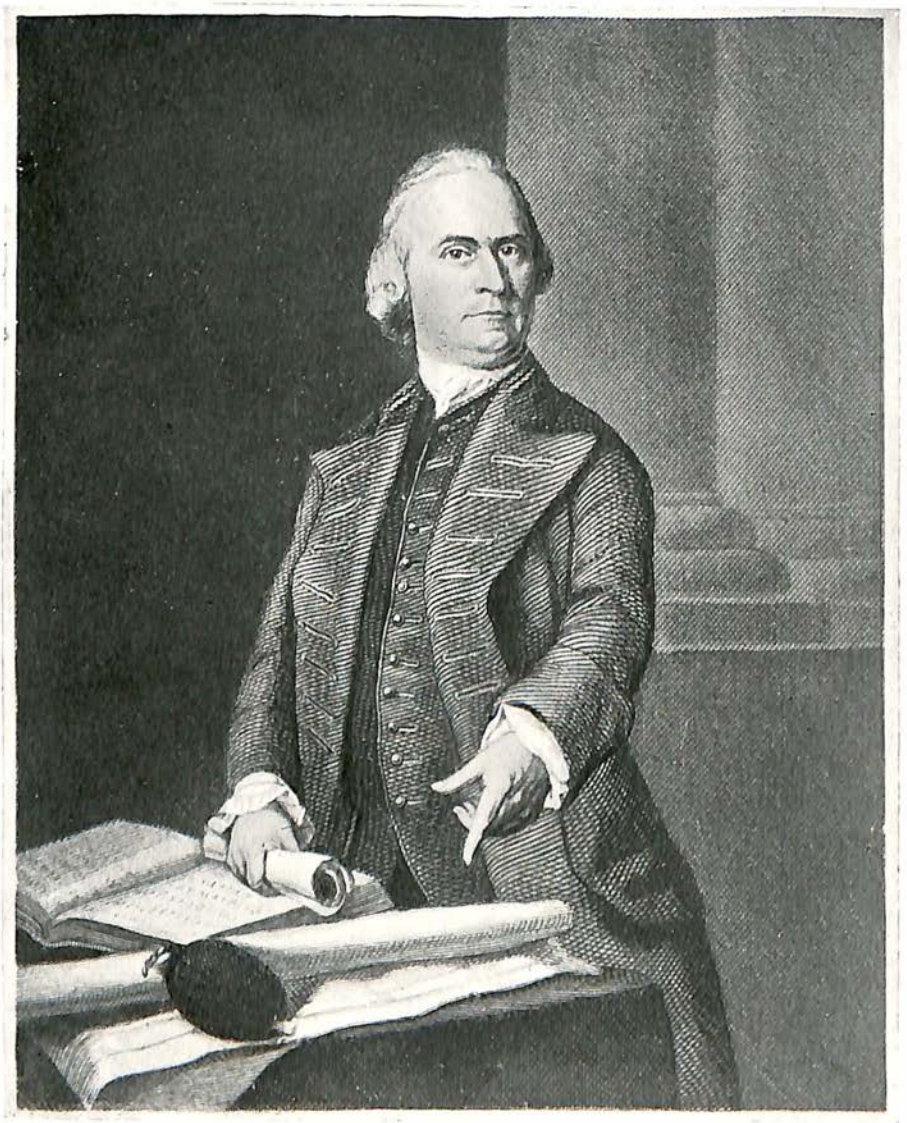
Seditious literature in times of international disturbance has never been infrequent in London, never more so than during the Revolutionary struggle. The gross and insulting words applied to the King by American journals and their partisans in England, did much to precipitate the war, by hardening the hearts of the

[1] The Honourable Peter Oliver, presiding Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, was, with three out of his four colleagues, expelled from office for loyalty to the Crown. He was then banished, and his estates confiscated. Two of his colleagues were also banished. Oliver's brief and pitiful epitaph may be seen in St. Philip's, Birmingham.

[2] Cf. a series of addresses called *The Crisis*, of which some are signed "Junius," printed in London, 1775; and *History of Caricature*, by Thos. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., chapter ix.

English people, by disgusting the men of the moderate party, and by furnishing Ministerialists with the kind of argument that always wins support. The general election of November 1774, which increased vastly the majority for the Ministry, was beyond all doubt much under the influence of the natural resentment aroused by insulting language.

Social order must part with some of its good things with a view to the security of the remainder. No system of social order has ever permitted absolute freedom of the tongue, any more than it has permitted absolute freedom of the hand. Pernicious words, as well as pernicious deeds, are in their degree equally under the control of the police; and every statute book of civilised communities contains some provisions against foul abuse and misuse of speech. There was such a statute in the Provincial statute books of New England, under which it was in the power of the Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts to close or forbid public meetings thought to be seditious. But no serious attempt to interfere with the Boston agitators, either in the Press or at public meetings, was ever followed up. In Faneuil Hall, in August 1774, took place a meeting which, both in language and objective, is probably among the most seditious meetings ever held openly in any ordered community. The meeting was not, it is true, called after public announcement, but, as it was constituted of delegates from outlying townships, counties, and districts, the fact of such a meeting was well known to every one in Boston. At this meeting it was resolved that every executive officer of administrative justice, from the Chief-Justice downwards, and that all Courts of Assize and of Record held under their authority, should be opposed and hampered in the performance of duty; that all officials who should still observe their obligations to the King, should be deemed traitors; that all such malignant officials should be boycotted or treated as outlaws; and that measures for armed resistance to the British power



SAMUEL ADAMS, AETAT 49.

From the Engraving by H. B. Hall, after J. S. Copley.

should be at once organised and put in practice. These resolutions were arrived at in a building not far from the seat of the Provincial Government, and practically under the nose of the newly appointed Royal Governor and Commander-in-Chief, General Thomas Gage, recently arrived from New York to undertake a work which had by this time passed beyond his powers of achievement, unless, indeed, he were armed with summary jurisdiction, backed by a force large enough to enforce his decisions, and were sustained by the firm attitude of the British Ministry.

The Adams Family.

There was at this time in Boston, a family of which it has become the fashion in later years in America to speak as men used to speak in times past of the Protestant Reformers, of which family consequently there has arisen a kind of cult.[1] How many babes have been named in baptism after Samuel Adams or John Adams, the registrars of America alone may tell. Next to Washington, Franklin undoubtedly did the most for the cause of American Independence, yet as Franklin behaved towards his son William with a ferocity peculiar to family feuds, while the Adams tribe held together with the tenacity of Highlandmen, it has come to pass that the descendants of Adams have in their piety wreathed with well-woven garlands the images of their ancestors, and have burnt incense to them, while Franklin remains an effigy standing in bleak isolation in a kind of Plain of Dura.

Mr. Samuel Adams, of whom it has been repeatedly said he is New England's noblest son and the Father of the Revolution, was born with a grievance. His father Samuel had been in the earlier days of the century an insubordinate citizen and a thorn in the flesh of the Royal Governor Shute. His political

[1] The family is regarded as the foremost family in America. Mr. John Adams succeeded Washington as President (1797–1801), Mr. John Quincey Adams was President 1825–1829. Mr. Charles Francis Adams is well known in American literature. Mrs. John Adams is thought by Professor Bushnell Hart to have been the ablest woman of her time in America.

ideas moved him to call together a committee of West India merchants, as well as shipwrights and ships' captains, with the object of privately "placing persons into positions of trust and powers" in the management of municipal affairs. To get the control of public affairs into their own hands through their agents and clients has long been a master idea with men of professed democratic opinions, and certainly this was a cherished object with the elder Samuel Adams. This Committee or Club known as the Caulkers Club, is supposed by some to supply the origin of the word as well as the thing called Caucus. As to the word, the very learned in such matters flout the idea of such a source, while professing inability to say where or how it originated.

Mr. Adams, among his mercantile ventures, devised and floated a system of paper money which in course of time was declared to be illegal, with the unhappy consequence that the whole of his fortune melted away, and the family collapsed. A notion was entertained in the ruined home that the suppression of the enterprise was due to the meddling jealousy of the British Government. Consequently a cloud of grievance overhung the house and every member of it. When Mr. S. Adams took his degree or graduated out of Harvard, his name was not far from the bottom of the list, not because of inconspicuous merit, but because of the poverty of his father. The authorities of Harvard, in this Mecca of freedom from convention, aristocratic influences, and general bad example, formerly undertook the delicate task of furnishing young people not only with a certificate of learning, but also with a certificate of poverty. Instigated thus by a wrong from without, and a insult from within, Mr. Adams began his very chequered and venturesome career. Ultimately regarded by all supporters of British supremacy in America as the Jack Cade or Wat Tyler of the rebellious movement in the Colonies, he had tried his hand without success as a maltster, and was

persistently accused of making default as a tax collector. It was alleged that during his years of duty the deficit of the tax-collectors' returns arose to nearly £10,000. It is a matter of dispute whether Adams with his colleagues was guilty of embezzlement, or whether, as the times were hard, the people impatient of taxation, and remedies for contumacy tardy, the emptiness of the town chest may not be referred to these causes.[1] The fact seems to be that Adams was not fitted to be either a successful lawyer or a prosperous man of business, but was by nature furnished with all the good qualities and defects of a professional politician. With such a temperament he could not fail to be in opposition all his working days. Thus he became the accepted leader of every malcontent in New England.

"He combined public spirit with unscrupulousness in his choice of methods in a fashion which recalls an Italian politician in the days of Macchiavelli." His influence in the direction and growth of disaffection was prodigious. Possessed to the full of that democratic oratory which is much admired in the United States, and gifted with a remarkable capacity for literary composition, he was enabled, it has been pointed out, to address his superiors of the governing class in documents that are "models of grave and studied insolence."

"Hating," says Mr. Lecky, "with a fierce hatred, monarchy and the English Church, all privileged classes, and all who were invested with dignity or rank, utterly incapable of seeing any good thing in an opponent, or of accepting any form of political compromise, he advocated on all occasions, the strongest measures, and appears to have been one of the first to foresee, and to desire, an armed struggle . . . and he maintained openly that any British troops that landed should be treated as enemies, attacked, and if possible destroyed."

Probably a few years before the Declaration of Independence, Adams stood alone in his conviction

[1] The Apology of Mr. Adams is best presented by a paper read in 1883 before the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. A. C. Goodell.

that America must sever her political dependence on England. As in most commotions, religious or political, it is the minority that ultimately prevails, so in his convictions Adams was strong enough to make a small party, which soon began by hints and innuendoes and letters written by the office boy to the editor, to make the Press the implement of those convictions. Of this Home Rule and National party Adams[1] became the natural head and centre. In 1765, the majority of people on both sides of the Atlantic regarded the notion of an armed conflict as a remote contingency. In Great Britain little interest was taken in Colonial affairs, but there was a small pro-American party whose policy was to concede every demand, until nothing should be left to concede. Mr. Burke's views on concessions to America are too well known to be quoted in detail, but even he did not anticipate an appeal to arms or a final and total severance of the ties binding the colonies to Britain. At this time, as always under the pressure of party government, England was unprepared. She had a few years before swallowed a huge cantle of the earth, and was suffering from indigestion. Party feeling was running very high. The King was unpopular, and could rarely go abroad in the streets of his capital without incurring insult. The vast accessions to the national debt, created by recent wars and conquests, were producing the soreness and irritability of the householder when bills come pouring in for payment. The forces were on a peace footing, that is, were reduced to skeleton regiments, and nucleus crews. In March 1775, the army

[1] *Cambridge Mod. Hist., United States*, vii. 146. Hosmer's *Life of Samuel Adams* is a handy and impartial book, and will repay reading. Lecky, Cabinet edition, iii. 121. *The Life and Letters of Samuel Adams*, by Wells, is quite, in its way, an important book. Mr. Wells thinks very highly of his man, but writes in a fair-minded style about the hero. He disapproves of Adams's views of the Saratoga Convention, who supported the perfidious breach of trust committed by Congress in that matter: and has a pleasant story about Samuel's indignation at being taken for his cousin John.

in Great Britain consisted of 17,508 men of all arms and ranks. The total armed military forces of the Crown, inclusive of the Irish establishment, did not amount to 50,000 men. Of these there were more men on the Irish establishment than in North America, and of the North American contingent nearly one-half was quartered in Canada. The establishment of many of the regiments was only 477 of all ranks, and of these the shortage in both officers and men was considerable. Consequently in all the ten years' agitation which culminated in the armed outbreak in April 1775, but a mere handful of troops was scattered about in the areas of disaffection—a number quite inadequate to cope with any movement likely to assume the shape of armed resistance to the King's authority.[1]

The official colonial force was rebellious to a man. As mentioned above, a leading revolutionary caucus met in the house of Mr. Thomas Dawes, Major of the Boston Regiment. There never was at any time of the ten years preceding April 1775, a sufficient military force to quell any armed outbreak. Mr. Adams therefore had a free hand, and his letters, his speeches, his despatches were distributed freely, entailing on him no discomfort. Yet this was an industry that brought little grist to his mill. He was ever a poor man, and over fifty years old before he quitted his native town, unless for sundry short excursions within easy reach. It is quite certain, therefore, that Adams, a poor and untravelled man; like his cousin John, thought New England the finest place in the world. John, in a passage quoted above, wrote of his native province that it exceeded every other colony in America, and indeed every part of the world in its advantages.

[1] Cf. MS. book giving account of the distribution of His Majesty's forces in America in 1775 (March) now in possession of the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall. At the end of this year, according to Lamb's *Journal of the War*, p. 63, the force was—17th Dragoons, and of foot, 4th, 5th, 10th, 22nd, 23rd, 35th, 38th, 40th, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 47th, 49th, 52nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th (some companies), and five companies of Royal Artillery, each of eighty-one men.

Mr. Samuel Adams earned a small competency as Clerk of the House of Assembly, out of which, says Mr. Hosmer, his admirable wife made it possible for him to maintain decent housekeeping. His influence as the most turbulent man in that turbulent community cannot be overrated. It was as natural for him to be always in opposition as it was for his favourite dogs to fly at the throats of British soldiers, which, as legends have it, their master diligently taught them to do. His native discontent made him an enemy of Washington, an opponent of the Federation of the States, a keen adversary of the Republican party, a fierce irreconcileable to the end, an honest man who lived and died in narrow circumstances, who had to be fitted out with a new suit of clothes to attend the first Congress of 1774, and was buried, as many better men have been buried, at the public expense.[1]

With him as chief guide subsequent political movements after the passing of the Stamp Act, proceeded towards their goal. Under his ingenious control, and assisted by his legal acumen, the Legislative Assembly of Massachusetts discovered in whatever the British officials either proposed or omitted to propose, some cause of offence, some insidious attack upon the liberty or the constitution of the Province. This spleen was brought to its focus on the little garrison of British troops in the town. If they met for drill or parade, they were guilty of unlawful assembly, if they were quartered on the inhabitants, this was an infraction of the Provincial Constitution, if the commanding officer asked for space on which to erect barracks, the accommodation was refused. Englishmen newly from England were spoken of, as they still often are spoken of in colonial newspapers, and by colonial speakers, as foreigners. No soldier in the streets was safe from attack. The Boston

[1] Mr. Lodge says of him: "Sam Adams belonged to the class of minds which can destroy but cannot construct." Cf. Cabot Lodge in *Boston*, p. 168. Mr. Adams became Governor of Massachusetts after Governor John Hancock's death.

Boys, the Ropemakers, the Caulkers, the very dregs of the town, assaulted a soldier on sight. There was no redress for him either in the courts or from his own officers.

"One is forced to admit," says Mr. Hosmer, "that a good degree of discipline was maintained among the soldiers. No blood as yet had been shed by the soldiers, although provocations were constant, the rude element in the town growing gradually more aggressive, as the soldiers were never allowed to use their arms."[1]

Candid American authors, not of the Bancroft school, now admit that the responsibility for certain events which subsequently entailed bloodshed, was at least shared by the Boston mob, with the lawyers and tract-writers behind them.

"None knew better than the populace," says Mr. Mellen Chamberlain,[2] "the helplessness of the soldiers to resent injury or insult by arms. . . . Nothing but confinement of the soldiers to barracks could have prevented collision with the populace."

The Patriots had resolved to get rid of these regiments at all costs. The very position of the main

[1] Hosmer's *Life of Samuel Adams*, p. 161.

[2] Cf. Justin Winsor, vol. vi., narrative. Cf. also Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 35: "The troops were laid absolutely at the mercy of the mob in Boston, . . . in July (1769) Major-General Mackay wrote to Gage words of significant warning. 'Whatever troops are left in the town must be ruined in a year. They will be seduced to desert, or driven to desertion by the oppression of the magistrates. A soldier was lately confined to gaol for some petty theft, tried by the justices, condemned to pay damages of (I think) seventy pounds, and for not paying, *has been indented as a slave, and sold for a term of years.*'"

The italics do not occur in the passage quoted. General Gage was not in 1769 in Boston. His headquarters were in New York. Professor Dicey has pointed out that troops, or any citizen may intervene to prevent breaches of the King's peace or to suppress disorder without authorisation of magistrates or reading of Riot Acts. But this principle of British Law was not then so interpreted (cf. Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, p. 286). Hence General Mackay and his officers, thinking themselves without authority unless moved to action by the magistrates, were, as they considered, defenceless against mob violence. The Boston magistrates, on the other hand, knew that to protect, or invoke the aid of the military, was to run risks of being tarred and feathered.

guard in the midst of frequented thoroughfares was an unpardonable offence. The morning bugle, the evening drum were to sensitive Boston ears as sounds from the bottomless pit. From an atmosphere charged with this kind of electricity, some outbreak was certain to occur: in due time the outbreak came.

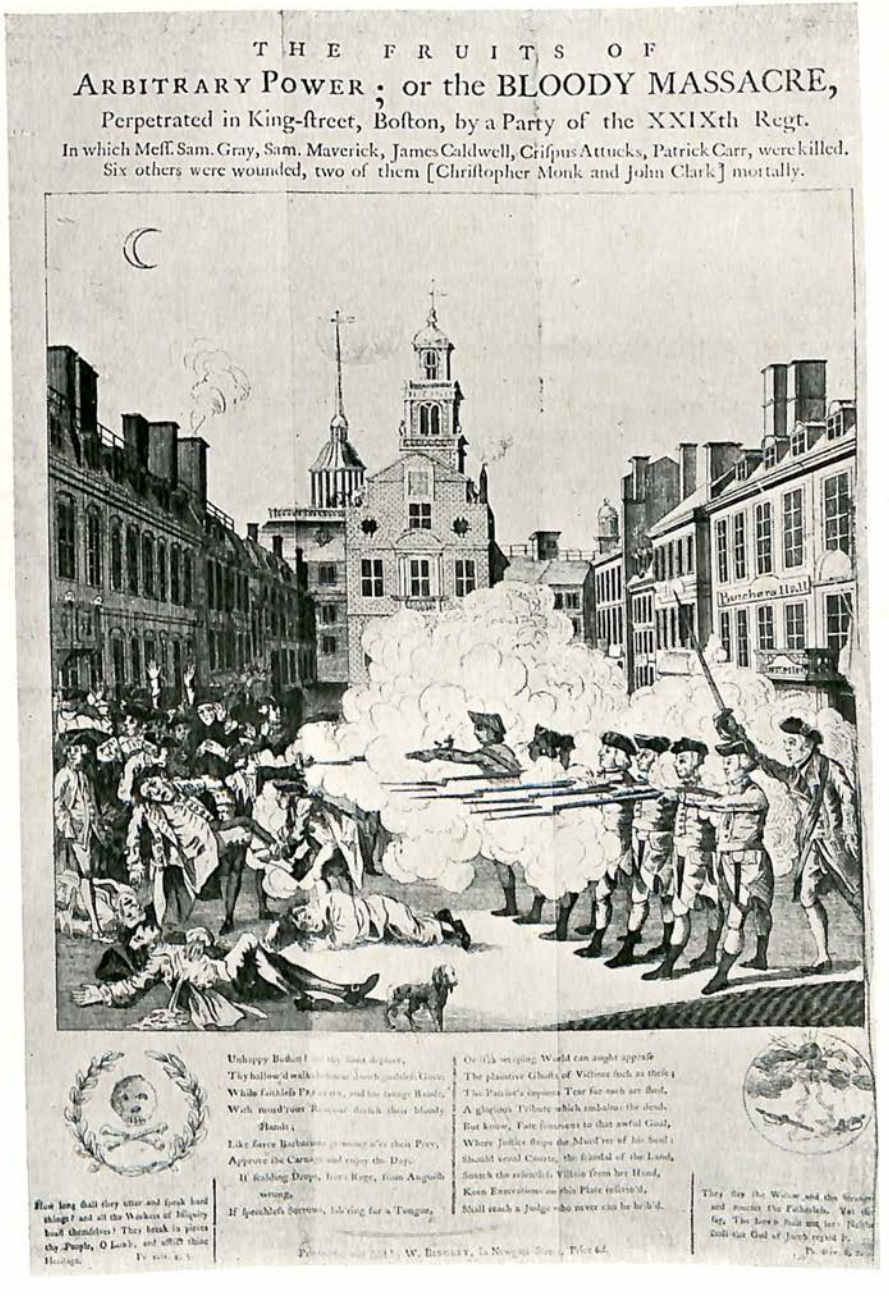
The "Massacre."

The little *émeute* in 1770, called the Boston Massacre, is too well known to require detailed mention. The whole regrettable incident was narrated in detail by ninety-six persons on affidavit, and their affidavits collected together were published, prefaced by a long statement, embodying the opinions of the freeholders and other inhabitants in public meeting assembled, and setting forth the causes leading up to the catastrophe, the publication being then attested by Governor Hutchinson under the seal of the Colony.

Mr. Fortescue's account of this unhappy affair is probably as near the mark as any narrative is now likely to be:

> On the 4th March 1770, there was an angry altercation between a few soldiers and some rope-walkers, the latter as usual giving the provocation, and on the following day there was a general rising against the troops, who were attacked in the streets with sticks and snowballs. An officer passing by, at once ordered the men back to barracks, and the mob then turned upon the sentry before the Custom House raised a cry of "kill him," and began to pelt him. Captain Preston hurried down with a sergeant and twelve men to rescue the sentry, and was at once attacked and pelted by the rabble pressing close to the party with ironical shouts of Fire! fire! while Preston, in advance of his men, entreated the assailants to go quietly home. At length one of the soldiers receiving a violent blow on the arm, either voluntarily or involuntarily fired his musket though with no effect, and the mob thinking that the soldiers were loaded with powder, only grew bolder and more violent, till at last either in desperation or in bewilderment at the eternal cry of fire! all round them, seven of the men did fire without orders, killing four men outright, and wounding seven more, two of them mortally. The blame of the bloodshed rests wholly with the magistrates of Boston.[1]

[1] J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 37. For the casualties, Mr. Fortescue follows probably "The short Narrative of


THE FRUITS OF
ARBITRARY POWER; or the BLOODY MASSACRE,
Perpetrated in King-ſtreet, Boſton, by a Party of the XXIXth Regt.
In which Meſſ. Sam. Gray, Sam. Maverick, James Caldwell, Criſpus Attucks, Patrick Carr, were killed.
Six others were wounded, two of them [Chriſtopher Monk and John Clark] mortally.
Butchers Hall

From Bingley's reprint of *Narratives of Horrid Massacre at Boston, March* 5, 1770.

Such an outbreak of violence culminating in bloodshed presents in itself no features unusual in similar unhappy events, which in the cities of the world have again and again marked the antipathies of civilian and soldier. But this particular act of mob violence had far-reaching effects. Some philosopher has remarked that mob violence is just as much a factor or co-efficient of historical action as any other activity, and that occasionally it is the only means of getting through difficulties. An extraordinary use was made of this series of street outrages. As Mr. Lecky has pointed out, there have been many massacres in Europe. There was the Spanish Fury in Antwerp, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Sack of Madgeburg, the Sack of Drogheda, the Massacre called the Sicilian Vespers: but these all put together have not loosened so many capable tongues, nor driven so many capable pens, as this little business in King Street, Boston.

All classes in the community joined in execrating the soldiers, and gave no ear to justifying or mitigating circumstances. Inflamed and grossly inaccurate accounts of the transaction were drawn up and scattered through the Colonies, and sent to Great Britain.

The hard-featured divines whose portraits are frequently reproduced in connection with the history of this period, made the Old North, and the Old South, and the Old Brick, resound with their denunciations.

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the Horrid Massacre in Boston perpetrated on the evening of the fifth day of March 1770, by soldiers of the xxixth Regiment, etc.," printed "by order of the town by Messrs. Edes and Gill, reprinted for W. Bingley in Newgate Street, London, 1770." Deacon John Tudor, however, a merchant of Boston, and one of that useful class which keep diaries, gives a somewhat different reckoning of the men killed outright. Professor Bushnell Hart calls him "an eye-witness of the Boston Massacre." Cf. *American History told by Contemporaries*, ii. 429. Rev. Thos. Smith, *Journal*: "There have of late been many frays between the soldiers and inhabitants of Boston, but last Monday evening there was a very tragic one. The soldiers in King Street fired on the people, killed four on the spot, mortally wounded two more, besides wounding five others." (Entry 12th March 1770.)

They preached from Psalm xciv. 6, 7, and invoked the aid of the God of Battles.

But time somewhat allayed the first feeling of animosity, and when the facts became better known, it clearly appeared that the soldiers had fired, without orders, upon the crowd only when it had become necessary in defence of their lives.[1]

The unlucky victims of this *émeute* were all buried in one grave in a burying-ground which now yields to none for its dismal and depressing appearance. And for thirteen years solemn memorial ceremonies were observed on each anniversary of the event. At the close of the long struggle for Independence, the affair being seen in its due proportions, the anniversary ceremonies dwindled.

The Captain (Preston) and the little squad were arrested by the Governor's orders, and indicted for manslaughter. The reasons assigned comprised, that firing had taken place before the Riot Act had been read. But there was no necessity to read the Riot Act (1 Geo. I. 2 c. 5). Professor Dicey says :

> That Statute provides in substance, that if twelve rioters continue together for one hour after a magistrate had made a proclamation to them in terms of the Act, ordering them to disperse, he may command the troops to fire upon the rioters, or charge them sword in hand. Now the error into which magistrates and officers have fallen from time to time, is to suppose that the effect of the Riot Act is negative, as well as positive, and that therefore the military cannot be employed without the fulfilment of the conditions imposed by the Statute. This notion is now known to be erroneous.[2]

The error, however, in the eighteenth century was fairly widespread, and in the No Popery or Gordon Riots of 1780, the results of this misunderstanding were nearly ruinous to the Empire.

Some months later Captain Preston and his men

[1] Justin Winsor, vii. 49.

[2] *The Law of the Constitution*, A. V. Dicey, 6th edition, 1902, p. 286

were tried, defended by Mr. John Adams assisted by Mr. Quincy, and acquitted. The verdict was declared from the Bench to be an act of the barest justice. It is amazing to find English writers citing this acquittal, as a mark of the very high quality and impartiality of the American Bar and the American Bench. The verdict was unpopular outside. The jury was said to have been bought.[1]

Nevertheless by the "Massacre" there can be no question that Boston and New England were aroused to such a pitch of frenzy that, unchecked, must have led to civil war.[2] The handful of British troops could have availed nothing against the militia and the armed inhabitants of Massachusetts. There was a gun or two in the North and South batteries, but these were manned by the territorial force.

Mr. Samuel Adams, well aware that the preponderance of strength lay at his disposal, acted for the time being like a kind of dictator. His influence with Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, the Royal Governor, added to the cautious good sense of the Governor, displayed during the whole of this trying time, succeeded in allaying somewhat the exasperation of the people. The soldiers, it was agreed, should be withdrawn from the town altogether. The 14th Regiment had been quartered somewhere near Brattle Street, and the 29th just off King Street, and between the two barracks lay the main guard, close up against the Town-house. It was thought prudent to remove the troops from localities so near to the commercial and residential parts of Boston, where their uniform had been continually in-

[1] Cf. A Handbill in the Library of Massachusetts Historical Society, reproduced in facsimile in Winsor, vi. 89.

[2] Paul Revere's picture of the "Massacre" is a grotesque production, but it is none the less popular on that account. There is a copy of it in a great many houses and Institutions in Boston. The men slain included a negro, but the negro is omitted from this popular print. The site of the fracas is marked in State Street by an arrangement of paved work, and on Boston Common there is an appropriate monument to the negro.

evidence, and for about a week there was a kind of armistice, during which the citizens placed military guards and watchers everywhere. Mr. John Adams himself, subsequently President of the United States, donned his uniform, and with musket, bayonet, broad-sword, and cartridge-box, took his share of patrolling the town. At the end of a week the two regiments, not five hundred strong in all, quitted the town, and the crisis was over.

Reviewing all the circumstances Governor Hutchinson adopted not only the wisest course, but the only possible course for the avoidance of bloodshed.

"American mobs," says Mr. Greg, "have repeatedly faced, fought, and sometimes defeated the trained militia of the States, and confronted even the regular troops of the Union; and the ten thousand rioters whom Samuel Adams and John Hancock could summon at a few hours' notice were excellent marksmen and half-drilled soldiers . . . the same men who a few years later displayed their ability and readiness to face the royal troops anywhere, but in the field."

It seems consequently to be quite clear, that had Mr. Hutchinson arrested the leaders of the revolutionary party in 1770, the British troops in Boston would have been overwhelmed and probably massacred.[1]

The Franklin Letters.

A Reign of Terror had already begun, directed and fomented by Mr. Adams and his adherents, for with Adams, the clerk of the Provincial Senate, the victory lay. Like Marlborough, according to Addison, "he taught the doubtful battle where to rage," and now having got rid of the troops, who were sent to quarters three and a half miles away from the centre of the town, the next quarry marked down for official destruction was the Royal Governor Hutchinson. Nothing of general importance happened for a year or two. But in 1772 occurred the Franklin Letters incident of which, while some careful American writers speak with great reserve, others make no mention in their narratives of these times. Before he became Governor of

[1] See previous page.

Massachusetts, yet while holding an official position of high trust, Mr. Hutchinson exchanged with an English Member of Parliament some letters of a personal and private nature. With him were associated in this correspondence Mr. Peter Oliver, afterwards Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, Mr. Paxton of the Customs, and some others. They wrote independently of each other, but were of the same mind. Boston they thought,

> . . . a noisy turbulent place inhabited by people of coarse insolent manners, not amenable to reasonable control, and like a huge recreation ground full of unruly boys playing at politics, and aping the ways of serious citizens, and not a community of civilised creatures. The best plan to coerce them would be more military control with enlarged official powers,

and so on.

Perhaps the most important passage in these letters occurs under the date of 20th January 1769:

> I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the Colonies without pain. There must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties. I relieve myself by considering that in a remove from a state of nature to the most perfect state of government there must be a great restraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government in which a Colony 3000 miles distant from the parent state shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. I am certain that I have never yet seen the projection. I wish the good of the Colony when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty, rather than the connexion with the parent State should be broken; for I am sure a breach must prove the ruin of the Colony.

There is nothing here expressed but a perfectly reasonable and legitimate view of perplexing conditions, with a hint at a method of treatment. Yet Hutchinson was sensible that a very close system of espionage surrounded himself and his friends and correspondents in London. He begs for secrecy for everything he writes, the times being so troublous, and says emissaries in London seem to know the contents of letters written

from Boston, for reports of such letters are transmitted to the Patriots in New England.

Four years after their despatch to London, under the condition of secrecy, these letters fell into Franklin's hands. And within a few weeks they were in the hands of Speaker Cushing of the Massachusetts House of Assembly.

Hutchinson's contention was that these letters were private documents which should have been protected by the unwritten law of such cases. Franklin, in his famous letter of Christmas Day 1773, addressed from his lodging in London to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*, says—

> . . . they were written by public officers to persons in public stations on public affairs, and were intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons who might be influenced by them to produce these measures.

Obviously this contention begs the whole question in Franklin's favour. He never disclosed how he gained possession of the correspondence, and it is practically immaterial whether he was a receiver of goods understood to be stolen, or whether the goods were conveyed to his possession by stealth. Students must draw their own inferences as to whether Franklin, after the Privy Council enquiry into his proceedings was completed, left the court with clean hands. The Member of Parliament to whom the letters were addressed was Mr. William Whately, who had been on the personal parliamentary staff of Mr. Grenville, but in 1769 occupied no official position. Mr. Whately doubtless during 1768-1769 circulated among his friends in London, officials and others, the interesting letters of an able and leading American, himself a native of Boston, whose opinions of affairs in Massachusetts could not fail to be worth reading. It was then the custom to send round among friends, epistles whose contents had some general or special importance; probably among Whately's other friends, Mr. Grenville got a sight of them. It is now commonly

admitted that the correspondence contained nothing but facts which have never been impugned, or opinions, which in private life may be freely expressed among friends; and scores of such letters passed among Whigs and American Patriots; between American Loyalists and supporters of the Ministry.[1]

During the whole of the Revolutionary War, Franklin had many correspondents among Whig Members of Parliament, notoriously Mr. Hartley of Newcastle; while Burke, at least early in the war, maintained correspondence with both Philadelphia and New York.

In 1772 Mr. Whately died, upon which this batch of letters from Massachusetts went astray. It is asserted they were stolen, and that the thief took them to Franklin, who, at that time in London, was entrusted with somewhat vague powers and responsibilities as paid agent for two or three of the Colonies. He was also drawing British pay as Deputy Postmaster-General of British America, and was thus in the service of the Crown and of the Colonies.

Franklin's standard of morals was strictly his own. From the time that, according to tradition, he invited his father to economise effort by going down into the family cellar and saying grace once and for all over all the winter provisions, so forward to the end of his days, his ways of looking at things were somewhat unconventional. Fastidious New England Puritans, and men who were not fastidious, did not like him, Boston man though he were; they distrusted him as a free thinker, whose early life was not passed in wedlock with the

[1] The whole of the Hutchinson letters episode may be studied in Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*, vol. ii. chap. 8. The letter to the *Public Advertiser* is fully reported with other matters of significance. Franklin was then sixty-eight years old, and was passionately attached to English society, if not to England. He speaks pathetically in a letter to William Franklin that after so long an absence from his native land, he may return to find all his former friends dispersed and himself a stranger among strangers; in which case he would return to England (letter dated 1st September 1773, a year before the Hutchinson affair).

mother of his children. Mr. Samuel Adams, many years his junior, disliked him as Laodicean in the question of Independency, and in other ways a trimmer. It is possible that Franklin reckoned that an opportunity had now arrived of demonstrating his patriotic zeal. At any rate he sent the letters to Boston, where they caused a vast ferment. The Patriots of New England had by this time assigned to themselves the loftiest motives, the sublimest virtue, the most unsullied conduct; while to the Loyalists, whose convictions were at least equally sincere, was imputed a base, inveterate depravity.

In this general condemnation of all men who remained faithful to their oath of allegiance, the authors of the letters were included. The Boston Committee of Correspondence, as soon as it seemed politic, despatched copies of Hutchinson's letters in all directions, saying:

"The providential care of the gracious Being who conducted the early settlers of this country to establish a safe retreat from tyranny, for themselves or for their posterity, in America, has again wonderfully interposed to bring to light the plot that had been laid for us by our malicious and insidious enemies.

It is true that Franklin had requested his friends in Boston to observe certain limitations and restrictions in the use of the letters addressed neither to him nor to them, and thought to be stolen. But, masters of a casuistry, which if used against the convictions of Boston would have been denounced as Jesuitical, Mr. Samuel Adams and his legal friends soon whittled into chips the scruples expressed by Franklin. The Assembly met at the ordinary time, and proclaimed the correspondence seditious, and demanded the immediate removal of the Governor. In their indictment the Assembly included the Chief-Justice Oliver, whose letters, purloined in the same way and at the same time, were enclosed in the packet sent to Cushing, the Speaker of the Assembly. As neither the Governor nor the Chief-Justice could be removed except by the consent of the Crown, the Boston Assembly petitioned the Crown

in that direction, and thus let the people of England know that they approved of the publication of private correspondence, and that they concurred in Franklin's action, so far as to demand summary and drastic punishment of two quite blameless gentlemen.

The Privy Council after enquiry advised the Crown that the petition was "groundless, scandalous, and vexatious." Next day Franklin was dismissed from his sinecure office of Deputy Postmaster-General of the American Colonies. Even this astute gentleman, old as he was, had not fully appreciated the perils of the chase in running with the hare and following with the hounds. Franklin's action was condemned, both in America and in England[1] on practically the same grounds. There are doings which gentlemen of every nationality cannot brook, and Franklin had broken the unwritten laws of a gentleman's conduct. He had been accepted on his own merits, and in his official capacity into some of the best English society; he was on intimate terms with the Howes; he corresponded with the Whig Bishop of St. Asaph, "the good Bishop," and was made welcome in many refined homes. To the standard of conduct implied by that social recognition he was expected to conform. He ought to have surmised that his disclosure of this correspondence would be in the last degree mischievous, and likely to cause the breaking out afresh of wounds still unhealed. He was in London posing as a friend of the British Government, while doing his best, or worst, to inflict upon the strained relations of Great Britain and her daughter States the most felonious of blows.

[1] Cf. Dartmouth Papers, 1774, 1st July. Document marked B, p. 216, and p. 170. Franklin's relations with the Bishop of St. Asaph were of the most friendly turn, and perhaps influenced his religious views. Ten years later in the Convention at Annapolis, he moved that Prayer "be held every morning before we proceed to business." His own note is "the Convention, except three or four persons, thought prayer unnecessary." The Bishop lived at Twyford House near Winchester, at which place Dr. Franklin was a frequent visitor during his stay of eighteen years in England.

Mr. J. A. Doyle offers a very plain comment on this transaction :

> Franklin in obtaining possession of these letters was then, and has often been since, severely censured . . . but what is strange is that while Franklin had been freely condemned little blame has been assigned to the far worse conduct of his allies in Massachusetts. Their use of the letters was shameless in its dishonesty, and merciless in its cruelty.

It has been urged in extenuation of his doings, that he was actuated by the best of motives, that of mitigating the wrath of the Colonies by showing them clear evidence how the British Government was but the dupe of designing and faithless men.

Everything is of course possible, but that the British Ministry could be so far like a nose of wax as to be moulded by the artifices of a few men in not very responsible positions, working at a distance measured by many weeks of stormy transit, does not come within the bounds of reasonable inference. Neither is it compatible with the known shrewdness of Franklin to credit him with opinions, which in their actual interpretation turned out to be so ill-judged. Franklin is reckoned to have been as full of common sense as a man can carry, but it is not common sense to send explosives to one's friends. Franklin's apologists also bring forward in mitigation of his conduct the custom prevalent of tampering with letters. But from the days of Erasmus down to those of Sir James Graham, the kettle, the sharp knife, and all other implements of literary burglary have been officially used about suspected correspondence. The dark-room business was brisk in Pretoria in 1900, as it may have been in London in 1772, or under the Third Empire at any date. It is a slender defence of a man whom his apologists rightly admire for his genius, that in one of the most questionable actions of his life, he showed himself no worse than other people.

The judgment of posterity has not yet reversed the judgment of Georgian opinion. Virtually the

defendant before the Privy Council in their hearing of the Massachusetts Petition; Franklin's trial presented incidents common enough in those harsh and coarse times. The Privy Councillors laughed and mocked and behaved like Yahoos: it was their way of showing resentment for a breach of an unwritten code. While Mr. Solicitor Wedderburn surpassed himself, and his efforts pleased the members of the Privy Council present, they displeased every one else, and have brought upon Wedderburn himself as much invective and abuse as should blacken the memories of ten men. Wedderburn called Franklin a thief, using the obscurity of a Latin reference, and Franklin's admirers have ever since (and without the decency of veiled allusions) been calling Wedderburn a scoundrel.

The Cockpit, the scene of the enquiry, probably reeked of vinous fumes, of toilet accessories, of malodours, as fat men shook and thin men sniggered, while the learned counsel scolded and blustered. Probably, therefore, by contrast, Franklin with his great forehead, his long white hair, his Cromwellian cast of countenance, his Quaker simplicity of costume, his imperturbable demeanour, presented a wholesome contrast to the behaviour and appearance of the men who judged him guilty of conduct unbecoming a gentleman. None the less he quitted the Council Chamber with a stain on his reputation, angry at heart, hating the country which for eighteen years had extended to him a kindly almost an effusive welcome.

It is a part of the martyrdom of man that between nations, as between individuals, misunderstandings appear to be both unavoidable and ineradicable. A new nation was springing into life on the other side of the Atlantic, expressing by action whatever was natural to new conditions of life, and a new interpretation of the values of life. It is not strange that the English people, immersed in their own business, ill-informed, slow to grasp the meanings of change, not too receptive of ideas, should not have appreciated the vital force of that

*dementia Americana*, of which we still note from time to time the powerful influence in the settlement or origin of American movements. Ill understood even now, notwithstanding immediate daily intercourse with American people and events; the Georgian society regarded their kinsfolks' modes of expression and action with surprise and alarm. The English people could not appraise at their true value the inflated rhetoric, the studied malignity, the implacable virulence of speeches, journals, letters, broadsides, pamphlets, sent over from Boston and New York. These things filled them with consternation. They offended the sense of honesty, fairness, and practical common sense, attributed to themselves by the people of England. Party feeling, which found its most remarkable mouthpiece in Mr. Charles James Fox, intensified the difficulties of the situation.

Beginning his political life, like some other Liberals, as an ardent Tory, Mr. Fox, like another statesman a century later, was, it was said, apt to be intoxicated by his own verbosity. The men who knew him well thought him the greatest debater that ever lived. But the man's wickedness as to women and gambling and drinking, made of him, at this time at least, little but an instrument of mischief. His chief contribution to the complex activities of his country, is to have founded a party that is always prompt to furnish the detractors of England with materials for an indictment of their native land. While matters were in this perturbed condition both in England and America, the enterprise of Mr. Samuel Adams in disseminating the contents of Franklin's despatches, whetted the appetite of colonial malcontents for more grievances.

With the Governor under indictment, with the handful of troops removed to an island three miles distant from the town, with a disaffected magistracy, with no police and the *Massachusetts Spy* to boot, the Royal authority was at an end, and Mr. Adams was now uncrowned King of Boston.

Boston now proceeded to settle the question of Peace or War by her attitude towards the new tax on tea. The Tea Party.

Tea is so fully appreciated by the English race wheresoever located, and so largely consumed, that to impose a tax on it has been on many occasions a customary device of Ministers in charge of a national revenue. Tea imported from the East had been in times quite recent consigned to English ports, and thence re-shipped to the American Colonies, subject to a duty of one shilling on each pound of tea, payable by the consignor to the Customs in the port of arrival.

As a matter of conciliation, it was proposed by the Ministry to abolish these roundabout methods, and send tea direct to the Colonies from the tea plantations of the East India Company, and to collect a landing tax from the consignees in American ports. The bulk of the tea consumed in America was of Dutch growth and contraband. The shilling tax had made it worth while to smuggle tea in vast quantities, amounting to millions of pounds. This remission of ninepence in the price of a pound of tea, added to less cost in handling for transhipment, knocked the bottom out of smuggling enterprise.

A total remission of the tax would have put the Boston smugglers, who were many of them men of high patriotic repute and influence, in a very awkward position. They would have been deprived of their canting cry of "tyranny," while they could not have faced their fellow-citizens by any opposition to the free entry of tea. But the threepenny bit saved their faces and the situation. Ruin or great loss impended over mercantile houses whose money commitments in the contraband tea trade reached high figures, and with them their Dutch friends in St. Eustatius, that great "free-trade" emporium, would have been dragged down.

The farther south along the coastline to Savannah the merchant pursued his business, the more did contraband enterprise flourish. Consequently the excite-

ment about the fresh regulations as to the importation of tea was as keen in Charleston as it was in Boston. The wealthy and fashionable society of Boston, headed by the exclusive Hancocks, were all in various degrees interested in the coastwise contraband business. Mr. John Hancock, Patriot, and viceroy of Mr. Adams, had inherited £70,000 amassed in "free-trade." A drop of sixpence or ninepence in the price of tea spelt calamity to many an elegant mansion in the town. To add insult to injury, the consignees of the cheap tea were but five men, and of these, two were sons of Hutchinson the Governor, a man under indictment for sedition and defamatory libel. The cup of indignation was now full to the brim. The mercantile community having control of the situation, and, as was commonly reported and talked about in Boston in these days, all the leading Patriots being smugglers, the subsequent comedy was made up partly of unpremeditated, and partly of carefully rehearsed scenes.

The power of Combines and Trusts in the United States in the twentieth century is too well known for comment; but the power of vested interests has been nowhere in recent history so aggressively operative as in these Boston Tea Riots. The rich men had a mob always at their command, a mob quite conversant with the use of fire-arms, easily swayed by peppery speeches, and accustomed to riotous demonstrations as the sanctioned means of enforcing its will. The town lay at their mercy, the troops were insufficient and out of reach, while the Governor, bereft of every semblance of authority and probably sick to death at the falseness of his position, had retired to his country house. The consignees had been told in unmistakeable terms to look upon themselves as enemies of their country. As thus: The *People*, 2nd December 1773, announces:[1]

As the aiding or assisting in procuring or granting any such permit for landing the said tea, or any other tea so circum-

[1] Original placard in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; facsimile in Winsor vi. 91.

stanced . . . must betray an inhuman thirst for blood, and will also accelerate . . . civil war, this is to assure public enemies of the country that they will be treated and considered as wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the first victims of our just resentment.

After the house of one of the consignees had been assaulted and badly damaged, the consignees had all fled for safety to Castle William.

Anarchy had now extended to all the little towns round about.

"It is not only the town," says Mr. Andrews, "but the country are unanimous against the landing of 'the tea'; and at the Monday and Tuesday meetings, they attended to the number of some hundreds from all the neighbouring towns within a dozen miles. 'Twould puzzle any person to purchase a pair of pistols in town, as they are all bought up with a full determination to repel by force."[1]

Meanwhile the *Dartmouth*, Rotch, owner and consignee, followed by two other vessels, came into the bay with mixed cargoes, including, according to Mr. Andrews, £10,000 worth of tea. Every pound of this might have been sold at a price lower than any pound of tea stocked under the old rates, for as a matter of fact there was nothing but contraband tea in Boston. The Contrabandists, in defence of their copious bread and butter, resolved that not a pound of cheap tea should be landed. In a few months China tea would be

[1] *The Letters of John Andrews, Esq., of Boston, 1772-1776*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1864-1865. In the *Boston Evening Post*, 21st February 1774, is announced that "many persons being apprehensive that there will be a difficulty in preventing some individual persons from selling tea, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, will engage that no person in this town, great or small, rich or poor, shall dare to sell or use tea. Signed by the Committee for Tarring and Feathering." Yet within a week or two of this public threat there is an advertisement in the same paper of "Young Hyson for sale 12s. a pound." John Andrews, too, whose letters are so much quoted in connection with this incident, was partaking of his own tea when noisy demonstrations induced him to leave his tea-table and find out the news. Having picked up in the streets information, he returned quietly to his home to finish his tea.

pouring into the country at rates so low that there must ensue an extinction of smuggling by making it profitless.

The Americans would then find it actually cheaper to buy English tea with the duty on it than to purchase tea smuggled from Holland.[1]

The wealthy merchants, the Hancocks and others, looked to their brains-carrier for a solution of the quandary.[2] He was equal to the occasion. No one has ever suspected Mr. Samuel Adams of being accessible to bribery, for he was under the control of stronger passions than even avarice. He hated Hutchinson, and that Hutchinson's two sons might be ruined in pocket and probably badly hurt in person, may also have had weight. Mr. Samuel Adams consequently fell back on first principles; he discovered the malignity of that unhappy threepenny bit. His puppets, as Hutchinson called them, followed his lead with avidity; they felt that it is not often that a man has the opportunity of saving his pocket by the assertion of first-class political principles.

The summons to resistance began 22nd October 1773. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts assembled at Cambridge, placed on their Minutes a Resolution:

> Whereas the unnecessary and extravagant consumption of East India Tea in times past has much contributed to the political destruction of the Province, and as Tea has been a means by which a corrupt administration has attempted to tax, enslave, and ruin us: therefore resolved that this Congress do earnestly recommend to the people of this Province, an abhorrence and detestation of East India Tea as the baneful vehicle of a corrupt and venal administration, for the purpose of introducing Despotism and Slavery into this once happy country. . . . . It is also recommended that every town and district appoint a Committee to post up in every public place, the names of such in their respective towns and districts, who shall sell, and continue so extravagant and unnecessary an Article of Luxury.[3]

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[1] Fiske, p. 83.

[2] Adams's pet name for Hancock appears to have been "The Empty Barrel."

[3] *R.O., Colonial Office*, 5, 92.

This thunderbolt from Cambridge was followed in Boston by public proceedings.

Friends, brethren, countrymen, that worst of all plagues, the devoted Tea, shipped to this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in this harbour. The hour of destruction or manly opposition to the machinations of Tyranny stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself and to posterity, is now called upon to meet in Faneuil Hall at nine of the o'clock, this day (at which time the bells will ring), to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive measure of administration.[1]

The Loyalist or Tory party being the weaker were now thoroughly cowed. The brutal violence which in the Stamp Act Riots invaded Hutchinson's house, smashed his furniture, hacked his pictures, burnt his library, and drank itself to a standstill in his cellar, leaving him nothing to appear in his justice-room on the following day but a night-gown and a blanket,[2] was merely dormant.

The uncrowned king having expelled the troops, hustled the governor out of the town, and ruled the local Parliament with rods, now addressed a letter to his subjects.

We think, gentlemen, that we are in duty bound to use our most strenuous endeavours to ward off the impending evil, and we are sure that on a fair and cool enquiry into the nature and tendency of the Ministerial plan you will think that this tea now coming to us more to be dreaded than plague or pestilence.

They did so dread it, and as everybody was now spoiling for a bicker, plans for the destruction of the tea were secretly matured and promptly carried out.

[1] Sabine, *Loyalists*, *s.v.* Hall.

[2] Hutchinson was at that time Chief-Justice of the Colony. The proceedings next morning after the ruin of his home are reported thus: "The Chief-Justice, addressing the whole Court, said: 'Gentlemen, there not being a quorum of the Court without me, I am obliged to appear. Some apology is necessary for my dress; indeed, I had no other. Destitute of everything, no other shirt, no other garment but that I have on, and not one in my whole family in a better station than myself.'"

No one can tell how the affair was organised, or who was the leader of the organisation. Some ceremonial, however, had to be got through. The tea could not be delivered to the consignee without payment of the tax, and the *Dartmouth* might not leave the harbour homeward bound without a certificate of clearance, that is, without discharging the tea. So Mr. Rotch, who as a Quaker was a man of peace, found himself in a painful dilemma. He could neither land his tea nor send it back to the port whence the *Dartmouth* had brought it. The Patriots had control of the land, and his Majesty's ships, of which there were some nine or ten moored near the town, had control of the sea. Mr. Rotch was compelled by the Adams party to consent to remitting the tea to England, but Hutchinson declined to sanction a clearance for the ship unless she were actually cleared; and the British Admiral was prepared to blow out of the water any ship attempting to leave without her duly authorised papers.

This handsome condition of things supplied Mr. Adams with such material for meetings and speeches as rarely falls to the lot of men of his mould and propensities, while the Boys were all ready to act at his nod. Meanwhile Governor Hutchinson sent word to Hancock, commander of the Boston Cadets, to have his force ready for the suppression of disorderly assemblies and to maintain the peace. Hancock, however, would have been tarred and feathered by his own cadets had he attempted to obey the order. He was, moreover, too deeply interested on the other side. It was like setting a fox to protect a hen-roost. The farce was kept up till 18th December (1773).

Here an eyewitness may with advantage tell us again the oft-told story. Mr. Rotch had been sent to the Governor to ask a pass for his ship outward, which on legal grounds was refused. A huge meeting awaited the reply.

> By the time he returned with this message the candles were lighted in the house (of the meeting), and upon reading it such prodigious shouts were made that induced me while drinking

tea at home to go out and know the cause of it. The house was so crowded that I could get no further than the porch, when I found the Moderator was just declaring the meeting to be dissolved, which caused another shout both out doors and in, and three cheers. What with that and the consequent noise of breaking up the meeting, you'd thought the inhabitants of the infernal regions had broke loose. For my part I went contentedly home, and finished my tea, but was soon informed of what was going forward, but still not crediting it without ocular demonstration, I went and was satisfied. They mustered, I am told, on Fort Hill to the number of about two hundred, and proceeded two by two to Griffin's Wharf,[1] where *Hall*, *Brace*, and *Coffin* lay, each with 114 chests of the ill-fated article on board; the two former with only that article, but ye latter, arrived at ye wharf only ye day before, was freighted with a large quantity of other goods . . . and before nine o'clock in the evening every chest from on board the three vessels was knocked to pieces, and flung over ye sides. They say the actors were Indians from Narragansett.[2]

The incident is described as "a picturesque refusal on the part of the people of Boston to pay the tax."[3]

The picture was filled up by the figures, the pursy figures, of the well-to-do citizens who planned the movement. Mr. Adams, assisted by Mr. Hancock, knew what he was about. Over a bowl of punch with the accustomed pipes, the design had been proposed and settled by the astute mercantile gentlemen whose interests were threatened by the tax. The tavern, the scene of their meetings, is said to have been the "Green Dragon" in Union Street. The names of participators in this demonstration show the social condition of the perpetrators of the outrage.[4]

No one interfered; there was no one to interfere. The Boston military territorial force, under the command of Captain Henry Knox, provided a contingent to guard the three vessels, the *Dartmouth*, the *Eleanor*, and the

[1] Griffin's Wharf has been re-named Liverpool Wharf.

[2] *Letters of John Andrews, Esq. of Boston, 1772-1776*; Massachusetts Historical Society, 1864-1865.

[3] Lodge, *Boston*, Historic Towns, p. 145.

[4] Samuel Adams Drake in *Landmarks of Boston*, p. 282, gives seventy names.

*Beaver*, but their charge was to prevent the Custom-house officers from doing their duty, and to protect the "Indians from Narragansett" during the commission of their intrepid act. The bourgeois of Boston executed this great work unscathed. This was the democracy Adams believed in, a comfortable well-fed democracy with money in purse, men with silver buckles to their shoes, and with good wigs well powdered and dressed every Saturday, Selectmen and deacons, not forgetting that remarkable metal worker, Mr. Paul Revere, the Mercurius of the Adams party, the Quintin Matsys of Boston.

Fourteen years later than these events occurred the movement called Shay's Rebellion. Daniel Shay had as much right on his side as ever justified rebellion in the case of Samuel Adams, and had sterner reasons for becoming a rebel. But fourteen years wrought many changes in the application of principles as the Adams' party understood them. Samuel wrote to his kinsman John: "Now that we have regular and constitutional governments, popular committees and county conventions are not only useless but dangerous."[1]

His sympathies were always with comfortable men, with Alcibiades Hancock, whom he ruled like a led horse, with the Lorings, the Frothinghams, and the other noblesse of high Boston society. Consequently as against Shay and his penniless followers Adams supported measures and military movements, such as when Gage was Governor and had some authority, he had denounced as brutal, as infamous, as tyrannical. Daniel Shay and his men rebelled against a taxation they were unable to bear; Adams and his men rebelled against a taxation they refused to bear. The disciples of the patriot Daniel were shot down by the advice and consent of the patriot Samuel.

Boston's gentlefolk thus destroyed the tea, consummating what Senator Lodge calls a picturesque refusal, and

[1] Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, p. 391.

another calls an act of necessity, and the Whigs in the House of Peers, an act of despair. These achievements had been repeated at many points all along the Atlantic seaboard. In New York tea was turned out of a ship into the harbour. In Charleston the tea was landed, put into bond, and left there to rot. Nobody dared purchase a pound of it. In the Delaware a ship was arrested, and its captain invited to sail back with his cargo to the port of his departure. The Committees of Tarring and Feathering all along the coast took charge of their fellow-citizens and visitors, both merchants and consumers of tea, accompanying their vigilance with menaces.[1]

"We are informed," says a Boston paper of 17th January 1774, "that one John Cook of Salem, skipper of a schooner belonging to Mr. Geo. Bickford, accepted of the infamous employment of transferring from Cape Cod to Castle William, the East India Company's detestable tea, saved out of the wreck of Captain Loring's brig. Mr. Bickford is now a patient at Essex Hospital, and we are assured that a company of natives, dressing in the Indian manner, have already paid him a visit, but he being under inoculation they deferred proceeding to extremities." [2]

The gravity of this announcement betrays a sense of humour in view of the interpretation given by the local Patriots to *extremities*. "A cobweb pair of breeches, a hedgehog saddle, a hard trotting horse, and a continual riding," [3] in a costume of pitch and feathers, constituted the simple elements of the prescription ready for those enemies of America who drank tea. It is reported that molasses and chaff were occasionally used as substitutes for pitch and feathers.

[1] It is perhaps needless to say that the contrast between innocent nature of tea and the hubbub aroused by the measures connected gave rise to endless skits, squibs, and caricatures on both sides of the ocean. Perhaps the most interesting of them is a parody in six chapters of the biblical Book of Chronicles, which was pointed out to me in the library of the Boston Athenæum by Mr. C. K. Bolton, Librarian, whose courtesy is so much appreciated.

[2] *Boston Evening Post*, 17th January 1774.

[3] Toast of the Fellowship Club, Newport, R.I., December 1773.

Practically the contention had now entered upon an acute condition of struggle between a mercantile community whose wealth largely depended upon "free trade" or smuggling, and another people which, after years of acquiescence in the neglect of legal restraints on smuggling, now desired the enforcement of revenue laws.

Burke defended the Americans on the ground that the enforcement of the revenue laws broke up nearly all the inter-colonial coast-wise trade.[1] The various Navigation Acts, he urged, had all acted in restraint of trade, but in any case were not enacted for the purpose of raising revenue. He furnished discontented Americans with all the best of their arguments so far as speeches carry conviction; but the argument of the stick had, in scores of places, been active all along the Atlantic coast for many years before Burke's orations were published.

The king's ships in commission had all been authorised to act as revenue guardships. The greater part of the work fell into the hands of young fellows who could not follow legal pleadings with much discrimination, but who understood the logic of hard knocks.

With sloops and cutters and bits of brigs young lieutenants, commanders for the time being, kept a sharp and busy look-out for contrabandists up and down the coast. There was all the joy of adventure in the course of duty, added to the ardent pleasures of the chase and the hope of prize money. Consequently the affair of the *Gaspee* in 1773 is illustrative of a situation full of strained relations and dramatic surprises. A long series of smuggling encounters, culminating in the rejection by Boston and the ports of a measure which must have made smuggling unprofitable, added to the very unfavourable impression created by the Franklin letters,

[1] Burke's sincerity was questioned in America: "It is plain enough that these motions were not made for the sake of the Colonies, but merely to serve the purposes of the Opposition, to render the Ministry if possible more odious, so that they themselves may come into the conduct of affairs, while it remains very doubtful that they would do any better, if at all, than their predecessors."—W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 437.

had made reprisals by Great Britain quite inevitable. In anticipation of some act of retaliation, some interference with a liberty which knew no bounds, the language of Patriots now became of a complexion which might have been thought high in Thebes of Egypt, at a meeting convened by Pharaoh, to denounce the Ten Plagues. The gentle art of the complete boycott, practised with considerable success for some years past in Boston, now reached a stage of finished application. As thus:

William Jackson is an importer at the Brazen Head, north side of the Town house, and opposite the town pump, Cornhill, Boston. It is desired that the Sons and Daughters of Liberty would not buy one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring disgrace upon themselves and their posterity for ever and ever. Amen.

This was published in 1770. A considerable number of firms were pilloried by name in the same way. One of them, John Main, a printer, retaliated by showing that some of the chief supporters of the boycotting movement were themselves importers.[1]

The Sons of Liberty, now in much evidence, were breathing flame every evening at the "Bunch of Grapes" in Mackerel Lane.[2] Very vigilant, too, were they about their neighbours' affairs, probably somewhat perturbed in mind as to whether the other Colonies would do their utmost to hoist Massachusetts, that is, Boston, out of the pit she was industriously digging for herself; for Mr. Samuel Adams and his supporters were now acting as if in control of the fortunes of a sovereign state. Things being in this troubled condition, the year 1773 came to a close.

The year 1774 was for Boston and Massachusetts generally a time of great terror and trouble. The

[1] Justin Winsor, vi. 78.

[2] Drake, p. 105; cf. the same author's *Old Boston Taverns*, p. 34. The "Bunch of Grapes" was a High Whig house, where a man in regimentals met with scanty courtesy. The house was famous for its brew of punch. It had a front on King Street.

tea-party was conducted like a frolic, but was, nevertheless, an act of rebellion. Every responsible man on both sides of the Atlantic was quite aware of this fact. As children expecting punishment are captious and irritable, so in New England people, expecting they knew not what, behaved with childish violence. The courts of justice were closed. The justices of the peace were forcibly hindered from doing their duty. At the first meeting of the Continental Congress, in September 1774, a strong remonstrance was addressed to the President of the House of Assembly of Massachusetts, calling attention to a long series of outrages committed in New England on public officials. At the same time the writer asserted that, as many members of Congress had taken part in these lawless proceedings, it was waste of time to enumerate them all.[1] The names of the localities and of the sufferers, too, are quite familiar to home-keeping Englishmen. In Berkshire the justices of common pleas were expelled from the court-house, which was shut up. At Taunton Mr. Leonard, a provincial councillor, was fired at in his own house, from which he was compelled to flee. In Middlesborough the chief-justice of the province was attacked on his way to his duties, but the mob was beaten off. Attorney-General Sewall was compelled to leave his house in Cambridge, which was afterwards partially wrecked. In Worcester a thousand men, fully equipped with fire-arms, broke up the court of justice, expelled the judges, the sheriffs, and the bar, and compelled them to abjure their allegiance. The sheriffs of the counties of Essex and Middlesex were expelled from house and home. Gentlemen of good birth and position were driven into the woods with their families, where they had well-nigh perished. The Plymouth mob was specially notorious for its violence. They enclosed a grazier, of whose actions there was

[1] Given in full over the signature of "Plain English" in *Rivington's Gazette*, 9th March 1775; cf. Frank Moore's *Diary*, i. 37 fols.

popular disapproval, inside the carcase of one of his own oxen, and carted him about the roads for many miles, from township to township, until he was nearly dead.

To quote Mr. Fisher:

> Men were ridden and tossed on fence rails, were gagged and bound for days at a time, pelted with stones, fastened in rooms where there was a fire with the chimney stopped on top; advertised as public enemies, so that they would be cut off from all dealing with their neighbours. They had bullets shot into their bedrooms, money or valuable plate extorted to save them from violence, and on pretence of taking security for their good behaviour. Their houses and ships were burnt. They were compelled to pay the guards who watched them in their houses, and when carted about for the mob to stare at and abuse, they were compelled to pay something at every town.[1]

Of these outrages there is copious record; but of injuries done to obscurer people and to their cattle, of the lives lost by terror, exposure, and privation, there is, happily it may be, little record now remaining. In face of such evidence about this long and fratricidal war, which cost the lives or banishment of a hundred thousand people who bore no arms in the contest, to say nothing of the deaths by wounds or consequent disease of a quarter of a million of men engaged in the contest, it is amazing to find Mr. Fiske contending that the notion of violence or injustice was abhorrent to Americans, and Mr. J. R. Green that outrage was deplored by American statesmen.

Mr. Fiske, who, as a popular lecturer, probably understood the value of serving butter in a lordly dish as well as any one, informs Boston people that

[1] S. G. Fisher, *True History of the Revolution*, p. 164. Tarring and feathering was in vogue in Dublin in the latter end of the eighteenth century. Perhaps there may be some years before it ceases, for in the *Globe*, London, 27th November 1908, it was reported that in Broken Hill, N.S.W., a speaker addressing a mob of mining operatives and their wives recommended tarring and feathering and boycotting as a means of terrorising "scabs," *i.e.* non-union men.

their forefathers had reached a high degree of political culture,[1]

> . . . through their system of perpetual free discussion in town meetings. They had, moreover, reached a point where any manifestation of brute force was disgusting and shocking to them. They were a people unused to violence and bloodshed.

Other Americans think differently. Travellers in America in the latter part of the eighteenth century speak differently. They profess to have observed among Americans insatiate tastes for killing.[2]

For instance: "After the battle of Bennington (1777) the Tories were the sport of the soldiery. They were tied in pairs and attached to the traces of horses, which were, in some cases, driven by negroes." As Bennington lay in the thick of the forest and thickly-wooded land, it is easy to conjecture the fate of the Tories linked in pairs. Again: "One Tory, with his left eye shot out, was led by one mounted on a horse who had also lost his left eye," and so forth in shocking frequency. In the valley of the Delaware, Patriots, having cap-
1777. tured some Tories in the depth of that hard winter, stripped their prisoners naked, and laid them on frozen puddles until they sank in and were frozen hard into the muddy mass. This sport the Patriots called "cooling the loyalty of the Tories."

The Reign of Terror extended even to the quiet men

[1] Fiske, *Revolution*, pp. 71-72, on which see Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 27; Van Tyne, *Loyalists in American Revolution*, New York, 1902; S. G. Fisher, *True History of the American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 158, 164; *Familiar Letters of John Adam to his Wife*, p. 20; Sabine, *Loyalists*, Boston, 1864; Flick, *Loyalists in New York*; Thomas Jones, Chief-Justice of New York, *History of New York during the Revolution* (De Lancey's edition); Justin Winsor, vii. *s.v.* Loyalists, p. 91 (*N.B.*—Van Tyne accepts all Flick's work as adequate, and adds much of his own); Frank Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, New York, 1860, i. 37-42 *passim*; cf. also extract 161, "Reign of King Mob," by "Plain English," given in Hart, ii. 458, New York, 1898; T. Anburey's *Travels*, and many others; J. R. Green (People's edition), p. 777.

[2] Bolton's *Private Soldier under Washington*, p. 215.

who desired to maintain neutrality. As in the Civil War in 1643 and following years, although half the population took no particular heed of the subject of contention, farmers and country folk were harassed and knocked about, whatever way things went. The Cavaliers ate and drank their fill without paying, and the Roundheads, after cursing the quiet folk in Biblical language, confiscated their cattle and their corn, so in New England, families remaining neutral were ordered to quit the country, because their influence might be weighty in the direction of peace. No private gentleman dared to exchange views in correspondence with his friends on any matter, for the Patriots opened all letters. The conduct, too, of the Massachusetts Assembly in the matter of the Franklin letters covered a vast amount of stimulating example concerning correspondence.

In March of this year a retaliatory blow fell upon 1774.
Boston. A large amount of merchandise had been destroyed at a Boston wharf, not only with the connivance of Boston magistrates, but actually under their personal direction. No punishment had fallen upon the perpetrators of this carefully planned outrage. Their names and persons were perfectly well known to the local authorities, yet no attempt was made to bring them to justice. The act was an Act of War. So the British Parliament in both Houses, without the formality of a division, and having a sufficient naval force in Boston waters to enforce their determination, closed the port of Boston.

This Act came into force on 1st June 1774. Governor Thomas Hutchinson quitted Boston on that day, an exile from his native place, to which he did not return. Six years later he died in Brompton. Like Chief-Justice Oliver, who died this year, his 1774.
life is thought to have been shortened by the terrible anxieties and persecutions he had undergone. A very capable and truly patriotic man, whose sense of duty in the carrying out of Ministerial measures of which

he was known to disapprove, should have won for him more appreciation than has been his share. Many men came down to the Wharf to see him off; while some of them had offered him an address of farewell; a kindly act they had later to expiate by public recantation. The bells were tolling muffled peals; flags at half-mast, shutters on the shop fronts, proclaimed a day of humiliation on the day Governor Thomas Hutchinson quitted his native shores. His predecessor, Governor Bernard, had been sent off amidst ironical salvoes and carols of rejoicing bells. Patriots had, like the older malcontents of Boston, a pleasing taste in studied form of public insult. But all this sound and symbol, as of a great funeral, had no reference to Governor Thomas Hutchinson. It was thus Boston proclaimed its reception of the Port Act.

GENERAL THE HON. THOMAS GAGE.

From the Painting at Firle, Sussex (by permission of Viscount Gage).

# CHAPTER IV

## THE STORM CENTRE, BOSTON, 1774—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS GAGE

On 13th May 1774, Governor Thomas Gage had arrived in Boston to assume a position quite untenable.[1]

The Ministry, ill-informed and misinformed, as British Ministries have frequently been, misunderstood the posture of affairs, and succeeded in misleading both Parliament and people. The Ministry beheld across the seas a little town, always from its infancy rude, fractious, republican, possessed by a spirit of malignancy; a place it was thought might be cracked like a nut, without much pressure. The Parliament of England and the people too (to say nothing about the Scotch members to a man), had resolved to administer a castigation to Boston, disciplinary and exemplary, such as should ring all along the Atlantic coast. But the people and Parliament did not understand, nor do they now apprehend, the power of the dollar in America. Mr. Lecky has in very guarded phrases referred to this potent motive of American actions, and Mr. Sabine quite rightly imputes to his fellow-countrymen (in their primary operations against Great Britain) a profound, perhaps a salutary attachment to the dollar. It is manifest that to this day in America the chief,

[1] Burgoyne to General Hervey, 14th June 1775: "It is no reflection to say he (Gage) is unequal to his present situation, for few characters in the world would be fit for it. It requires a genius of the very first class, together with firm resolution and a firm reliance upon support at home."

perhaps the only, field in which a man of ability can with rapidity achieve a prominence his fellow-citizens will all appreciate is the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Success in this tilt-yard is the first test of a man's dexterity, judgment, and self-control. And perhaps it is the case that in America a wealthy man quickly rising from obscurity to fortune is admired and imitated, not so much for his money, as for the uses to which he has devoted his finer powers, and their justification by success.

Boston then did not stand alone. In her defence of her system of trading, or smuggling, she had behind her the commercial sympathies of New York, of Philadelphia, of Williamsburg, of Charleston, of Annapolis. Commercial interest was the only tie or bond of union between New England and the other Atlantic States. The Middle and Southern States hated with a strong family and social hatred, the Eastern States; but they joined hands with them in defence of the family property. To quarrel among themselves, and bicker as much as they pleased, but to join hands against all attacks on "free trade" appears to have been the colonial policy, and a very intelligible policy too. Add to this sentiment about the dollar the further feeling that their traditional Home Rule was menaced with restrictions, and the *causa teterrima belli* becomes obvious. The Colonies had for many decades enjoyed a kind of Home Rule. They had their Houses of Assembly, their Speakers, their Clerks of Parliament, with the Royal Governor over all. All the forms and ceremonies of Westminster had been repeated in Boston and New York. All the petty and frivolous features of the Vestry Parliament discovered themselves. Local animosities, stupid little local interests created factions and exasperated party feeling, yet even in such incongruous and yeasty elements, there had been generated such a sentiment in favour of local control of their own affairs over the whole range of their influence, that the action of the British Ministry in dealing with contumacious

Boston appeared to be a wanton interference with traditional customs that had hardened into State rights. Consequently, a general feeling of strong resentment prevailed all over the Atlantic States when the blow fell upon Massachusetts by the closing and blockade of the harbour of Boston. It was admitted on all hands that the behaviour of Boston in past days had been coarse and indefensible. Leading Bostonians had ever found a malignant pleasure in baiting unhappy Governors. The early internal disputes of the Colony had included an acrimonious debate whether Calvinist Divines had adhered to the colonial interpretation of the Covenant of Grace, or had a secret leaning to the prelatical or Arminian Covenant of Works. These high matters had caused the early Governors many an hour of regret for having meddled in such themes. After the laborious settlement of these disputes, the representatives of the Crown, being found somewhat helpless, became the obvious touchstones for every man's wit, caprice, or discontent, of whatever source or degree. Any offence, however trivial, sufficed to bring torrents of insult on a Governor's head. Andros, being a churchman, attended Divine Service on Christmas Day, and on the death of his wife caused her to be buried according to the rites of the Church of England, and was hated for being a Churchman. Governor Dudley was hated for not being a rebel as well as a Puritan. To Governor Shute Massachusetts denied his salary; while the elder Adams spent much of his time in compiling studied insults to the address of Governor Shute. Governor Pownall submitted a very able minute 1765.
to the Ministry, in which he points out that while the freedom and right efficiency of the Constitution require that the executive and judicial officers of Government should be independent of the Legislature, the more so when the Legislature is so much influenced by the humours and passions of the people—yet the colonial Legislative Assemblies had again and again refused the Governors their salaries, with a view to keeping

Governors, judges, and other servants of the Crown in a state of subservience to the Assembly. In all acts of insubordination Boston had consistently taken the lead, as the Governor of New York in 1732 complains, writing that:

> Ye example and spirit of the Boston people begins to spread in these Colonys in a most prodigious maner.

To such a heritage Governor Thomas Gage succeeded in 1774, taking on a task in which success was well nigh impossible: failure well nigh certain. He had served with distinction in America for many years; was in the army before the age of twenty; took his share of the Braddock Expedition, in which he was wounded; was at Ticonderoga where Abercromby made his disastrous frontal attack on a position quite impregnable, and after taking part in the struggle for North America with the French, finished up this chapter of his career at the capture of Quebec in 1759.[1]

A few years later he was left by Amherst in charge of all the Western Frontier, that is, he was responsible as Commander-in-Chief for all defensive operations needful to protect the sea-board settlers from the incursions of Red Men. Then becoming Governor of New York and Commander-in-Chief of all the King's forces in North America, and having married a New Jersey lady, his connection with colonial life and society was of the closest. Thus no man more than he had reason to know the churlishness, the ingratitude, the mutinous spirit of many of the colonial Assemblies.[2] But in the Massachusetts Assembly he found the toughest of all subjects to manage.

The State papers and remonstrances, many of them very ably drafted, with their pretence of humility and submission,

[1] There is a very good and extended biographical notice of the Hon. Thomas Gage, in a *History of East Boston*, by Wm. H. Sumner, p. 361. Gage began in the Guards, and was of the *family* of the Duke of Cumberland, both at Fontenoy and Culloden.

[2] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 19-22.

their grave and ceremonious insolence and their frequent shameless perversion of facts, the ready connivance of the magistrates with the violence of the rabble and their equally ready abuse of legal forms for the perversion of justice, and the persecution of persons obnoxious to them, the unblushing partiality of juries, and the inflammatory discourses of Congregational ministers; all these things, by long tradition, came quite naturally to the people of Boston.[1]

This being so, Governor Thomas Gage was merely a new target or butt for these experienced legal marksmen. It is true he came fortified with additional powers, but as no civil magistrate had for years done his legal duty by rioters, as no sheriff had for years arrested any member of a law-breaking mob, as no jurors would convict a man of the right colour, as the local militia had aided and abetted the Tea Party, it had been proved to demonstration that to seek for aid in the administration of executive government from local authorities was, for the Provincial Governor, an idle quest.

Unhappily for himself, Gage was sent to Boston to administer a Government of which every local executive officer had been terrorised into immobility. On his arrival at the Long Wharf, at the foot of King Street, he was received with every sign of effusive welcome. He was a most Georgian-looking personage, and his demeanour of the loftiest. The eighteenth-century people thought none the less of him on that account. The best citizens and leading Patriots, the men who had either directed or taken active duty in the Tea Party, the Youngs, the Reveres, the Molineuxes, were at the ship's side, in their newly-dressed wigs and scarlet cloaks. Bells pealed: the flags and banners did their best to look gay, for there was an easterly breeze and a downpour of rain, such as in May New England has

[1] *Ibid.* p. 34. It appears to me that the paper presented to Governor Gage on 29th October 1774, is a model of studied insolence, it was drafted by Samuel Adams, signed by John Hancock, and presented by five members of Congress. In Record Office, *C.O.*, 5, 92, p. 15, 5 folios.

frequently to experience. Umbrellas[1] too somewhat marred the colour scheme of the reception. All the *convenances* were observed. There were on duty a Guard of Honour selected from the Boston Cadets, under Captain Henry Knox, bookseller, of Cornhill, as well as Colonel Coffin's regiment of militia. The Governor had no reasonable cause of complaint, as to the *éclat* of his reception, omitting the wet weather, the east wind, the puddles in the cobbled streets, and Messrs. Adams and Hancock. But he felt, and the people felt, that a renowned military gentleman, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Colonies, had not been sent to Boston to play at soldiers. He had demanded an increase in the military forces for his disposal, which demand brought to Boston the 4th, 5th, 38th, 43rd, and 59th regiments, which with the 14th and 29th regiments, which had been for years quartered in Boston, or in its vicinity, brought the garrison up to perhaps a number slightly in excess of 3000 men. These regiments had come in by driblets, for it required three or four ships to transport a regiment over sea, although the establishment strength was then only 477 men of all ranks. When later on in the year, in November 1774, details of the 64th and 65th regiments arrived, the whole force in Boston was under 4000 men.

That the Ministry belittled the Patriots, as did Earl Percy himself, notwithstanding his special opportunities of acquiring some knowledge of the colonial resources and temperament, is now admitted on all hands. The Scriptural injunction not to be high-minded but to fear, has never found much favour with the British stock wherever distributed. If the Tobacco lords and Cotton squires of the States of Carolina and Virginia, forgetful of their forefathers' and own history, said of the New England men in 1860, that "the Yankees would not

[1] The *umbrellas* sound like a later touch. Umbrellas were not a common article of personal furniture in those days. The description in the text is from a contemporary source.

fight," it is no wonder Percy, before Lexington, should have expressed himself in similar terms.

To police the State of Massachusetts inclusive of Boston, would have required 20,000 men. Gage had not a fourth of that number, and the Ministry, heedless or ignorant of facts, demanded of him exemplary services without furnishing him with the equipment adequate to their demands.

For the Ministry, with all England at their back, had now determined to chastise Boston for the wilful destruction of goods, valued at £15,000. It was the ancient custom of England that damage done by a mob must be paid for by a levy on the people of the township or hundred in which the riotous destruction had been carried out. The law on that point is quite clear. The lawbreakers' motives may be in the highest degree patriotic, and may confer great benefit on the public, but this will not protect them from actions or possibly prosecution. They must seek an Act of Indemnity for their wrongdoing.

The Parliament of England having assessed the loss to the East India Company or to the Consignors at £15,000, made a brief Act, that until the people of Boston should pay the fine for damages, the Port of Boston should be closed against all oversea trade, inclusive of commodities from the islands which are dotted all over the Bay.

The Port Act.

The Boston Port Act gained the support of such staunch friends of the Patriots in England as General Conway and Colonel Barré. Mr. Burke, in one of those magnificent essays on the Principles of Government, with which he has dazzled equally his contemporaries and posterity, opposed the measure, but the time for spectacular oratory was now over, and the Ministry carried with them the country in adopting a measure of chastisement for a town which, for more than a hundred years, had been contumacious, and had now become rebellious.

Yet even now the Colonial Secretary (Dartmouth)

kept a tight hand over Governor Gage. Every one, except the Boston malcontents was anxious to avoid an armed conflict. Neither the King, nor the Ministers of the Crown, had any desire for war. There was absolutely nothing to gain by a kind of Civil War, nor was the country in any way ready for war-like enterprises. Hence the amiable, the gentle, the punctilious, the meticulous Dartmouth, sent despatches to the West of the most neutral complexion. The Governor should of course be keen to maintain the dignity and prerogative of the Crown, but must not proceed to extremities; he must have the rod ready for chastisement, but the implement must be kept locked up in a
1774. cupboard. The merits of moral persuasion and timely concession and peaceful overtures formed the substance of Dartmouth's despatches, which occasionally extended to the length of a lecture. The despatches represented the opinions of the Ministry, and had the consent of the Crown. Even in January 1775, when Adams and his colleagues had resolved upon, and were making every preparation for Civil War, Lord Dartmouth could not bring himself to think that matters had arrived at such a pass, that to enforce the ministerial policy, further reinforcements amounting to at least 2000 men, must be sent to Massachusetts. Consequently Gage's letters were regarded with more than official coolness, carefully docketed and pigeon-holed. Whether General Gage appraised the problem as insoluble, except in the Gordian knot style, and finding himself hampered by the Colonial Secretary, allowed things to drift; or whether he was by temperament unfitted for coping with the tumultuous passions of an unruly town, remains matter of debate—"he was denounced by his King for his mildness, and by the Colonists for his tyranny." The Colonists, who discovered some secret humour in speaking of him as Tom Gage, called him in their public prints by opprobrious names, accused him of "consummate impudence,"

"abominable lies," of "rebellion against the established Constitutional authority of the American States," and so forth, ringing the changes on the abusive terms applied freely to Governor Hutchinson, his predecessor.

The Port Act came into force on 1st June 1774, with most stringent results. Boston in 1774, as may be seen by a glance at the map, was literally a town on the water, and much of its domestic communications were made by water. There were numerous ferries to this place and that, to Charlestown, to East Boston, and to the bits of islands lying about. The ground-plan of the town resembled a roughly cut-out maple leaf, attached by a stem or neck to the mainland. Boats provided the commonest means of getting about, and were, of course, very commonly used for transit of merchandise. It was not the intention of the Ministry to interfere with the little conveniences and customs of the people. But the passions of the people on either hand had become exacerbated. Insults to the soldiers, grosser insults to the Governor, persecutions of Loyalists, the continued vituperation of the journals—the *Evening Post*, the *Spy*, the *Gazette*—had wrought up the adherents of the Ministry to a high degree of exasperation. They now hoped to get back a little of their own. The Act would hit with marked severity the ropemakers, the caulkers, the shipwrights, the fisher-folk, the men, in fact, whose readiness with tar and feathers, or with insulting epithets, showed them to be the most turbulent class of which the Ministerial Party had learned to entertain a lively horror.

Mr. Bancroft[1] quite rightly says: "The law was executed with a rigour that went beyond the intention of its authors." Mr. Bancroft, however, like his disciples on this side of the water who write to suit, as they think, the taste of the American reading public, says very little about the provocations to severe

[1] Bancroft (*Massachusetts in June 1774*), vol. vii. p. 57.

reprisals. It certainly had been never intended that to bring a hamper of vegetables, or a sack of oats, over to the Long Wharf from Noddle Island should be forbidden. But it was forbidden, and that too with untoward results. The Executive would not permit a ferry boat or a greengrocer's barge to cross any water, not even the inlets that in every direction have scooped out the land by scour of tide. Four-
June 1, 1774. teen months after the Port Act was first enforced matters had come to a painful pass in Boston. Although the British had the command of the sea, yet for reasons that at the time were and still remain obscure, the command of the inlets and estuaries had transferred itself to the Patriots. Thus the soldiers began to run short of common necessaries. The camp kitchens, the stock pots, were ill supplied with both fuel and cooking stuffs. The horses were without enough fodder. Consequently a special Council was held at Province House to determine whether officers and men were to be slowly famished or the provisions of the Port Act to be relaxed. There could be but one solution to this dilemma. The Council[1] comprised Gage, Graves (Admiral of the Station), Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and Oliver (the deposed Chief-Justice), with the usual Secretaries. Reports from the Custom House Officers of New England were laid on the table. It was affirmed that outside Boston, the rebels had supreme control, and would allow nothing to land at Plymouth or about Cape Cod, or elsewhere. Even were goods landed, the roads were all blocked, so that no commodities could reach the camp over land, while on the other hand, the Port Act prevented the bringing food across the adjacent waters. It was unanimously resolved by order in Council to relax, and practically to abrogate the Port Act. Such was the end of the Port Act.

Meanwhile within the town the exasperation on both sides steadily increased. Gross insults continued

[1] *Firle Papers.* Meeting of 2nd August 1775.

to be heaped upon the soldiers by the men thus compelled to stand about in the market-place all the day idle. The addition to the number of the troops rendered men on fatigue duty, or strolling about, none the less exposed to personal assault. One instance of this kind of action on the part of the town mob may be enough. There were many such bickerings, but on 20th January 1775, a disturbance occurred which had well nigh ended in another "Boston Massacre," and that too, close to the classic spot.

Lieutenant Myers, of the 38th regiment, strolling home to quarters, was accosted by a knot of men as a "bloody-backed Irish dog." Some men set upon him, knocked him down, and kicked him. The noise brought up the watch from one quarter, and some British officers from Ingersoll's Restaurant close by. Myers requested the officers not to interfere, and having surrendered his sword to a passer-by, a civilian of repute, he then desired to be taken to the watch-house, which lay hard by the scene of this disturbance. Meanwhile the watch, armed with partisans or bill-hooks, had cut one officer over the head, and attempted to run another through the body, and had not arrested the assailants of Lieutenant Myers. The crowd increased, troops from the main guard came up, and there was every prospect of loss of life.

"I found a party under arms," says a witness, "to whom I heard Captain Gore (5th regiment) give positive and repeated orders not to fire on any account. Before this the townspeople repeatedly cried out 'fire! fire!' which I suppose occasioned the report in town that the officers had given such a word of command to the soldiers."

It was only by the great patience and forbearance of Captain Gore, and of the General's aide-de-camp, that the affair ended with no more hurt or damage than the severe wounding of two British officers. A formal enquiry extending over some days ensued, and a report was laid before General Gage; but as the assailants had not been arrested, and as it is certain no search would

be made for them, the insulted and wounded officers, as it appears, got no redress.[1]

And while these insults were multiplied, attempts to undermine the loyalty of the King's soldiers increased. The men of the ranks were solicited to desert by various devices, and under many inducements: they were told by printed bills scattered in their camp on the Common, that it only rested with themselves to exchange threepence a day, a ration of measly or rotten salt pork and the scurvy, for seven dollars a month, plenty of fresh food, and a farm.[2] Desertions increased somewhat; there were many women in the British Camp, who felt keen disappointment at the realities of their colonial experience as compared with the pictures fancy had painted to induce them to cross the sea. These women were a pest and a plague to the British Army in the early campaigns, sources of disease, discredit, and dishonesty. They brought about some desertions, which rendered stringent precautions to stop or abate the spread of that contagion, imperative.

There was little opportunity of getting away from Boston by water. A few men had been drowned in an attempt to swim to freedom, a few had got away by collusion with water guards and citizens; but the main exit from Boston was over the Neck. There was free coming and going along this road into town; but the abuse of this privilege by folk from the country, and other reasons, impelled the Governor to fortify and place a main guard on the Neck.[3] The

[1] The full report of this riot and the evidence at the enquiry was placed in a sealed packet in January 1775, which packet was opened on 10th November 1908, at Firle Place by Lord Gage in the presence of the author. The affair was reported by Edes and Gill in their *Gazette*, and also in Rivington's *Gazette*, February 1774. The Report of the disturbance, among the *Firle Papers*, is official.

[2] Justin Winsor, vi. 147; it was in form of a broadside and appears to have been distributed all the time the British troops were in Boston.

[3] 19th September 1774.

indignation of the City Fathers at this act of military precaution borders upon high comedy. They and their friends had been furtively active in forwarding armed preparations in every village and township in the adjacent country. With their connivance cannon had been stolen from the gun house on the Common.[1] It is certain that Governor Gage and his advisers had reason to think some attempt would be made to rush the town by way of the Neck. It appeared, therefore, a matter of common prudence to strengthen the works at the Neck to an adequate degree of resisting strength.

A little later[2] the Provincial Congress held at Salem made full provision for the collection of arms, ammunition, and other warlike materials, as well as for the drill and discipline of the force, subsequently known as the Minute-men. These men being of the choicer sort for their activity and good shooting, were under solemn injunctions to muster and mobilise at the shortest notice at certain local centres. Committees of supplies for belligerent purposes were also established. A system of telegraphy by beacon fires had been an early precaution of the movement. There was no man in Boston, whether Patriot or Loyalist, unaware of these proceedings or of their purpose. Every one knew that armed resistance to the officers of the Crown was contemplated.

The quixotic contention had already been raised by John Adams in the local court that no man is bound by any statute or law to which he has not personally or by his representative consented.[3] Every one will reflect that such a contention, interpreted literally, would unlock every cell, prison ward, and gate, dissolve tenure of property, collective or personal, and break all civilised society into fragments. Nevertheless the idea had fertilised in New England and was already pushing upwards crops of armed men. Yet with the grave

[1] 17th September 1774. [2] 1st October 1774.

[3] In defence of Mr. John Hancock indicted for smuggling Madeira and defrauding the Revenue; cf. Morse, *John Adams*, p. 32.

insolence of all their proceedings, the law-abiding Fathers of Boston remonstrated with General Gage for erecting barriers and redoubts at Boston Neck.

As Mr. Frothingham is careful to point out—"the Patriots were never at a loss for words." The Selectmen and others waited upon their Governor, or sent him long expostulatory messages, four times within a fortnight, demanding some explanation of his proceedings. They had enough self-control to say "that no wish of independency, no adverse sentiments or designs towards His Majesty, *or his troops now here*, actuate his good subjects in this colony." These interviews and messages occupy a week or two in September and October 1774. They continued these cajoling messages at the time they were actively promoting resistance to the Governor. Thus:

> Boston, September 27th, 1774.—Gentlemen, the Committees of correspondence of this and several of the neighbouring towns having taken into consideration the vast importance of withholding from the troops now here, labour, straw, timber, slitwork, boards, and in short every other article . . . . and *considering them as real enemies, etc., etc.*
>
> Signed by WILLIAM COOPER, *Town Clerk*.[1]

Thus within a week or two the Boston City Fathers assure the Governor they have no adverse sentiments or designs towards His Majesty nor towards his troops, and yet by the hand of their Town Clerk invite their fellow-citizens to treat the King's troops as enemies.

A mixed caucus in secret meeting assembled in Faneuil Hall, had declared that every officer of the Court of Justice exercising his office, whether tipstaff or Chief-Justice, was guilty of treason, that they should be regarded as common thieves and plunderers, that no one should supply them with food or the common necessaries of life, and that military training should be at once organised as against all enemies foreign or domestic. Great Britain was the foreign enemy. With such delusions and figures of speech, never being "at a loss

[1] Cf. Justin Winsor, vi. 115.

for words," the Selectmen endeavoured to check General Gage's operations on the Neck of Boston. Words, however, failing, the societies of the town picketed the workmen, and all the carpenters and manual labour men struck. By the method now known as peaceful persuasion the constructions were baulked and delayed, timbers and struts disappeared, bricks and mortar melted away like sugar in a cup of tea. The Patriots spoiled the Egyptians; they took pay without doing the work. The Faneuil Hall influence was now in full blast. The down-trodden people published ballads insulting the General, distributed seditious literature by the ream, held patriotic meetings everywhere, went drilling on every village green, closed all law courts, hunted Loyalists like game, tarred and feathered a few here and there, and thus bore clear testimony to the grinding despotism under which they could not call either soul or body their own. Even the women bore faithful witness to their enslaved and down-trodden condition. A young mother having caused her infant to be christened Thomas Gage, the matrons and maidens of the township in their righteous indignation resolved to tar and feather both mother and infant, and were only prevented from satisfying their just resentment by the dastardly intervention of some enemies of liberty, the men of the infant's family.

Meanwhile commercial Boston languished somewhat. As the superior men of the time had advised all Patriots to buy no British-made goods and to sell to no British merchants, and to pay no debts due to British creditors, trade dried up. It was singular advice to offer a people about to go to war, that it was the height of policy to quarrel not only with the best, but practically their only customer. The reputation of the first Congress of Philadelphia stands very high. Mr. John Adams has 1774.
reported that a most superior set of men constituted that Assembly. But it does not appear that any of these superior men was superior to the common ideas of the time.

On the verge of a war with Great Britain, the Colonists were bidden by their wise men to impoverish themselves as much as possible, and to cut off the supply of all the numerous articles of daily use which they would only be able to replenish after the war should be over.[1]

As Boston, unlike New York, fell in with this notion, a closing of the port affected chiefly local and coastal sea-borne trade, which had been always active. But in compensation traffic over the Neck into the town vastly increased. Numerous tokens of sympathy with the town in its distress came from various quarters, and were allowed by the military authorities free entrance. Food and commodities of all kinds were despatched for the relief of the unemployed. The new fort with its guns and guards looked down upon a road thronged with vehicles bearing country produce. Rice from Carolina, wheat from Quebec, money and tobacco from Virginia, provisions on foot and provisions in carts converged from all quarters on Boston. The winter was agreeable, food was plentiful, and even the British officers got what they required at moderate rates.

The coffee-houses, the taverns, the ordinaries were well patronised all that season. There was no restriction of personal liberty, no Patriot was molested, the town swarmed with Patriot spies, seditious meetings and publications continued unchecked, there were frequent assaults and molestations of the troops in the town. General Gage showed himself quiet and conciliatory; but he had wit enough to perceive that all protestations notwithstanding, Massachusetts intended to fight, and that she had a lively hope of being able to entangle the other Colonies in her quarrel. The effrontery which informed General Gage in October that the King's good subjects in Boston had no cause or desire of quarrel with him, may be illustrated by the fact that on the 29th of August, General Gage had himself assisted in the opening of the Commission of Assize, yet that in his presence every man of the jury, every

[1] Morse, *John Adams*, p. 70.

member of the bar, had repudiated the King's Chief-Justice and declined to act in any capacity in his Court.

General Gage knew, as every one knew, that gunpowder was being collected at different places for sinister purposes, that plans were maturing for arraying thousands of armed men in resistance to the King's authority, that the real masters of the Colony, while denouncing tyranny and despotism, were only awaiting the time to strike. Yet the Committees of Correspondence, the Vigilance Committees, the Committees of Safety, protested against any steps taken by the General to lay hold of warlike stores; and as we have lately heard police blamed for certain disturbances in London, 1908. so the Patriots impute to General Gage the guilt of the outbreak of hostilities.[1]

Meanwhile, during this winter, Patriots committed acts of war. In December the Sons of Liberty of Portsmouth (Me.), animated by the eloquence of Mr. Revere, a goldsmith of Boston, had feloniously carried off stores and cannon from the old Portsmouth Fort.

At Newport (R.I.) Patriots had stolen forty-four cannon. The almanacs for 1775 gave plain directions for making gunpowder for domestic use. Negotiations with Indians to be enrolled among the Minutemen were entrusted by the Provincial Assembly meeting at Concord to the vigilance of Mr. John Adams.

Meanwhile Revere, Adams, Warren, Hancock, and all the other leading Patriots, resided undisturbed in Boston under the protection of the British flag. These men were clearly liable to indictments for treason, but Gage took no measures in that direction. It would have been useless for him to move in the matter; the local authorities were in active opposition, and the Ministry had given him instructions to maintain authority by

[1] There was a good deal in common with the features of Irish agitation during these later years. Every Irish Secretary, Forster, Trevelyan, Hicks-Beach and Balfour, each in his turn, has been spoken of in terms like to the language used by Patriots about General Gage, and with about the like justification.

peaceful methods. No arrests were made. Nobody suffered except the loyal people. Matters thus drifted forward till 4th March, and then arrived the Anniversary of the Boston "Massacre" of 1770. In a city under any semblance of despotic control no attempt at public commemoration of this lugubrious event would have been made.

But the Patriots, while professing the most cordial attachment to peaceful negotiations, resolved to keep the day with special solemnity. A large number of British officers attended Dr. Warren's oration in the Old South, but beyond a little hissing and rapping, there was no disturbance. Patriots said the officers attended to cause a riot; it was reported that a reception egg made itself distinctly perceived by getting smashed in an officer's pocket.

The Anniversary passed off without any notice from General Gage, who during all this anxious time displayed great tact and forbearance. Writing to Mr. Peyton Randolph, he says:

> No man's property has been seized or hurt except the King's, no troops have given less cause for complaint, but insults and provocations are daily given to both officers and soldiers. The communication between town and country is free and unmolested.[1]

And in this condition of disquiet and seditious activity, the winter passed. General Gage was in point of fact, if not of law, quite helpless. As late as the 24th February 1775, the question was submitted by the Ministry in London to the Attorney and the Solicitor-General, as to whether in the present state of Massachusetts the troops might act without directions from a

[1] Peyton Randolph was, at this time, President of the First Continental Congress. Congress instructed Randolph to request Gage to discontinue fortifications in and about Boston, prevent invasions of private property, restrain irregularities of soldiers, etc. Gage's reply, as above expressed in its preamble, is a recommendation that matters be stated exactly as they stood.—Gage to Randolph, 20th October 1774.

civil magistrate against persons unlawfully in arms in that province, as well as in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. But in New England there was no civil magistrate. Meanwhile, advices from London assure the Patriots of the active support of the Opposition in England. The Bill of Rights Society sent £500 to the New England Patriots. William Lee (of Virginia, merchant in London) writes how the Common Council of London had held an indignation meeting which petitioned the House of Lords to reverse the Ministers' action with regard to Massachusetts, and intimates that a hand-bill had been printed for distribution among the rank and file of the British army, inciting to refusal to serve in America lest they should be aiding to reduce their fellow-subjects to Popery and slavery. A narrative of the "Horrid Massacre" in Boston, published for W. Bingley of Newgate Street, and furnished with a large folding picture of the event, had enjoyed a favourable reception. Caricatures of Lord North were as frequent as they were coarse. North, assisted by Mansfield, is represented as engaged in a violent effort in forcing a stream of tea down the throat of America, represented as a stalwart woman. Britannia weeps over the form of a fair Columbia who is in the arms of wicked men. The King, in company with a red Indian, is depicted as mumbling at human bones—bones of Patriots.

About this date too, Gillray begins his savage attacks on George the Third. It is a condition of party politics and of party government, that as a parliamentary opposition is there to oppose, ministerial measures are resisted because they are ministerial.

The more truly influential democracy grows, the more the weight and violence of opposition increases. The conduct of respectable Englishmen during the American, the Revolutionary, the Napoleonic, the Crimean, the South African Wars, to say nothing of their attitude towards disaffection and mutiny in Egypt, Ireland, India, and South Africa, is notorious. Men

like Fox and Byron and Wordsworth have cursed or growled at British victories, or have aided the enemies of their native land with information and money. There was at this time a party in England, powerful for its traditions, its connections, its wealth, and its ability, that cared not much for America but a good deal for itself—this was the old Whig party.

The old Whigs.

The Whig oligarchy had for nearly half a century overawed the Crown [1]—a price the Crown paid for the support of the great Whig houses in the day of Jacobite schemes and surprises. But after Charles Stuart's drunken testimony to his own imbecility, after the "Forty-Five," Tory gentlemen, while maintaining for a while the symbols of a once sturdy political creed in toasts and signs and mysterious observances, began to emerge into a broader national life. The Whig families having filled all public offices for many decades, regarded them as a kind of service freehold for the Barnacles, the Stiltstalkings, the Foodles, and the rest of their kinsfolk. This, however, was a view not shared by George the Third, of whom with the instinct of men clinging to office, they soon became suspicious and fearful.

His father was a man of little mental capacity, his grandfather, the late king, a coarse living man, the last of English kings to maintain mistresses *en titre*. His mother suffered long from an incurable disease, which disordered her judgment and exaggerated the propensities stimulated by training in a petty German court. But he had the sense to see that the reasonable independence of the Crown was not compatible with the

[1] *E.g.* in 1719 the Duke of Somerset introduced a Bill to restrain the Crown from creating more than 6 peerages beyond the existing number of 178, the power being left to the Crown of creating a new Peer when a peerage died out. The object of these Whig tactics was to create an oligarchy "independent of the Crown and irresponsible to the People." Cf. Erskine May, vol. i. ch. 5; Macpherson, *The Baronage and the Senate*, p. 8. Both Freeman and Macaulay denounce this attempt of these titled Whigs to coerce both Crown and people.

supremacy of a Whig Oligarchy, and within a few months of his accession he began to challenge the ascendency of the great Whig houses. His great service to the country is that he broke the power of the high territorial aristocracy, and liberated the middle classes from the oppressive influence of feudal traditions. For this service Whigs and Whig historians have not yet forgiven him. The King was but twenty-three years old at the time of his accession, yet it is customary to regard George the Third as one who was born old. His long and harassed life, his awful domestic troubles, the solemn terrors of his closing years, and the duration of his reign, make posterity think of him as well-stricken in years, even on his mounting his throne. He had no education to speak of, but wrote an uncommonly good letter, and knew his own mind; and among his fixed purposes was that of getting rid of the Mandarins. Accepting the tacit challenge, that powerful party posed as the ardent supporters of liberty as understood and expounded by the American Patriots. To their Whig friends, their speeches, their tracts, and pamphlets, their parliamentary influence in the boroughs, all American Patriots looked for support.

Meanwhile in England it was impossible to find substantial evidence for the formation of judgment as to the real mind of the American people. Common report confined disaffection to two States, to the High Churchmen of Virginia, and the Congregationalists of Massachusetts. No responsible leader, it was said, breathed the word Independence.

There is a story of a letter of Mr. John Adams having got into wrong hands and the contents being divulged, he was so severely censured for having mentioned Independence to his correspondent that many dropped his acquaintance. The notion of separation was affirmed to be as unpopular in 1774 as the Stamp Act had been in 1765. Many of the public utterances of 1774 support this contention. The delegates sent to Congress in that year were instructed

to maintain, by all reasonable means, the bonds between the Colonies and Home. Of the two States tainted with disaffection, one bade its representatives bear in mind their faith and loyalty to the King, and Massachusetts laid stress on the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies.

Men who commanded and still command respectful attention, Franklin, John Adams, Jay, Jefferson, and Washington, asserted more than once that there was no desire in any province of America for separation. It is not wonderful that English opinion was misled. All these statements masked the real movements of the American people. Governor Gage did little but repeat what Governor Hutchinson had said before him, that the King's law and the King's writ did not carry in the Colonies, and that the Governors had no adequate means of enforcing the King's authority. It was notorious, for instance, that Boston had for years been eager to cast aside the authority of Great Britain, yet Boston lip-service continued to the end. Governor Gage's despatches [1] to Lord Dartmouth told the plain truth that, as the Ministry was not prepared to support him without more authority than could be maintained by a scanty supply of troops—with a magistracy either violently deposed, or ejected by the mob, with officials that dared not act, and policemen that insulted and assaulted British officers with impunity—Governor Gage was reduced to position of stale-mate. Dartmouth in 1775 was still for temporising. The British people like to think that the man on the distant spot is always a bit of a fool, and that the farther off a man is from scenes of perplexity and contention, the better judge is he of remedies applicable to the case of which he knows so little. Of this amiable weakness General Gage was the victim, so that while he reported that arming and drilling and powder-making were proceeding on all sides of him, that the King's stores had been feloniously seized by insurgent bands and cannon stolen, he was told by

[1] Cf. Dartmouth papers, ii. 1774, 26th June, 17th October.

Lord Dartmouth that his fears were groundless. "I am unwilling to think that matters have come to such a pass," wrote the Colonial Secretary. Then the noble Lord, on making inquiries, found the British army reduced to a skeleton condition. A reckoning of forces in January 1775, revealed that only 18,000 men were now on the British establishment, and these barely sufficed to assist the civil magistrates; consequently, unless the army were placed on a war footing, it would be, he thought, impossible to send troops to New England. A few weeks later, when the full significance of movements in New England was perceived, Lord Dartmouth recommended to the King that a Commission under the Great Seal be issued to General Gage, with powers of pardon and amnesty to all except the members of the late Provincial Congress, and the persons who had attacked the King's forces or ships. During the autumn and winter, troops had been converging on Boston, some from Halifax, some from New York, some from Ireland and Canada, while at the end of the year a formidable squadron lay about the town, including the *Scarborough*, the *Boyne*, the *Somerset*, the *Asia*, big ships carrying 60 guns or upwards. Castle William had been also placed on a war footing. At the beginning of 1775 there were quartered in Boston the 4th, 5th, 10th, 18th, 23rd, 29th, 38th, 40th, 43rd, 47th, 52nd, 59th, 64th, 65th regiments, with some artillery. As the men-of-war could also furnish their quota of marines, if 80 per cent of this composite force were effective, the total would be about 5500 men.

January 27, 1775.

Of the ships it was reported they were undermanned and ill-supplied with ammunition and stores. They proved to be of little service in the subsequent events of this year. During this condition of simmering excitement a General Election took place in Great Britain, and on 1st November 1774, the House of Commons met for business. The late Ministry was reinstated with an increased majority. Lord North thereupon brought forward a policy of reconciliation; his proposition was

General Election of 1774.

briefly, that any Colony which would make any contribution for loyal military and civil administration, satisfactory to the British Parliament, should be exempt from all other general taxation. This measure was coldly received by North's own party, and was vehemently assailed by the Whigs, two facts which seem to support the reasonableness of the proposition.[1] It was at least a proposition of the olive branch variety, meriting a better career than that of being forced through an unwilling House by a well-drilled majority. But as this feature of parliamentary tactics has undergone no substantial reform since 1774, the time for reproof of our forefathers in this respect has not arrived; yet as the late J. A. Doyle remarks:[2]

> There could be no stronger illustration of the evils of the party system than the fact that North's scheme was contemptuously condemned by the Opposition, instead of being treated as a genuine though ineffectual attempt at conciliation.

It is certain that the attitude of the Whigs towards the measure weakened its influence on American opinion, rendering it quite nugatory. Neither Chatham nor Burke understood the actual intentions of their Colonial clients. Neither of them was prepared to concede total Independence. They did not appreciate the determination of their clients to accept nothing short of Independence. They condemned the policy of Ministers, without themselves having the ability or probably the insight to devise an alternative policy.[3] Shrewder men than they had already pointed out the steady drift of the colonial agitation. Americans thus misled by exaggeration of the influence and practical value of Whig friendship, also misled themselves by paying too much heed to the bill discounters of London, of Bristol, and of Glasgow.

[1] See above, Chapter I.

[2] In *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. vii., *The United States*, p. 163.

[3] This fact was quite clearly understood in certain quarters in America.

Americans seem to convince themselves that the boycott of British goods would bring mercantile Britannia, the tutelary patron of the nation of shopkeepers (a phrase imputed to Mr. Samuel Adams, among other people), to her knees. But they little knew that if want of money has caused nations to stop fighting, it has not yet checked nations, once quite aroused, from beginning to fight.

"England," it was said, "is compelled to raise ten millions in time of peace; her whole foreign trade is but four and a half millions, while her trade to the Colonies is perhaps three millions; she cannot afford to lose our markets."

Englishmen, on the other hand, misled themselves by according too much weight to the influence of Loyalists and their means of resistance to insurgent operations. If we are slightly wiser than our forefathers, it may be in the direction of giving greater weight to the unexpected in our deliberations about such matters. Colonial loyalty is sometimes unconscious lip-service. Men born in the Colonies become passionately attached to their native land. The New York colonel, who, seventy years ago, proclaimed that Broadway licked creation, is echoed in many places and in many ways. The New Zealander talks as if his clean and well-washed skies were due to a prudent system of secular free education. The Victorian thinks First Church on Collins Street superior to St. Paul's in London. The Sydney man has an idea that he owns *the* Post-office and *the* Harbour of the universe, and the Quebec native points to the squalid and rotten remains of the old town below the cliff, as the most exquisite of ruins; so Mr. John Adams wrote of New England, "the down-trodden land," as the fairest place in the world. Happy is it that our people have so largely realised, *ubi labor ibi patria* wherever their movements lead!

Nevertheless there were many Americans whose strong attachment to their native land was allied to a

real desire to maintain the political union with the Old Country. Added to this fact is the consideration that there are ever tens of thousands of sober-minded men, who seek peace at almost any price; they believe with Johnson, that it is immaterial to a quiet man under what form of government he lives. They think with scorn of the Divine Right of Kings, and equal scorn of the Divine Right of Demos, and desire to be left in tranquillity to their own interpretations of life. It is manifest now that the bulk of Americans at that time had reason to dislike Englishmen as represented by military and travelling samples, and that the English at home viewed their kinsfolk abroad with that subtle blend of contempt, alarm, and prejudice, with which the prosperous regard poor and refractory relations.

With all these elements of misunderstanding in activity, unpalliated by frequent and easy means of communication, war was inevitable. It had never been heard of that a king and his government had submitted to the insolence and outrages of dependencies without strong reprisals. After such acts of rebellion as the *Gaspee* case, the Tea Party, and the violent deposition of the King's Justices, such brutal treatment of the King's officials as was the unhappy fate of Mr. Malcolm at the hands of the Boston mob, an outrage of which the whole town were the approving spectators;[1] the suppression of all executive justice; the closing of every Court; and the boycotting of British goods, added to the repudiation of mercantile engagements amid the cries of the Loyalists, so mercilessly mishandled for their loyalty, war had become inevitable.

[1] Outrage by people of Boston on John Malcolm, 30th January 1774. He petitioned for redress—in vain it seems. Cf. Dartmouth Papers, pp. 192 and 263.

# CHAPTER V

## THE STORM CENTRE, BOSTON, 1775—THE OUTBREAK

At the beginning of 1775, neither the King nor his Ministry, notwithstanding the confidence expressed by the recent General Election as to their policy, had any desire to fight. They had the just dread of war, which every reasonable ticket-holder in that lottery entertains, and besides were aware that the King's forces were in no condition either to provoke or to pursue a war. The King had again and again called attention to the defective state of the army, and the inefficiency of the fleet, but to little purpose. He was always a good friend of his soldiers, but understood their limitations. Gage wrote to say that to conquer New England he should require at least 20,000 men. Lord Dartmouth requested Lord Barrington's information as to the state of the force which might be collected in New England in 1775. The reply came that 10,819 men might be collected. The drain of troops would leave Great Britain with no more men to police the whole of England and Scotland than in these quieter times is thought necessary to maintain order in Central London, perhaps 7000 men of all arms and ranks. Dartmouth became frightened, and according to the universal policy of weak men, hoped things had not assumed the gloomy colours Gage depicted, and suggested doing nothing. This was at the end of January 1775. But before his despatch could reach Gage, the

Colonials had already settled the question by an Act of War.[1]

Salem is a town in Massachusetts Bay, formerly highly thought of for the enterprise of its mariners and spirit of its merchants. Here lived and worked in the Custom House Service Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose desk is cherished there as a relic, while the House of the Seven Gables still enriches the associations of the town. Salem after the closing of the Port of Boston was chosen by Gage as his provincial capital; and to this place he summoned in 1774 what turned out to be the last General Assembly of the colonial province of Massachusetts. The town-house was used for the deliberations of this local Parliament, and the spirit of the members is shewn by the Memorial Tablet now speaking from the exterior wall of a building close by:

"HERE MET IN 1774 THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY
WHICH JUNE 17, IN DEFIANCE OF GOVERNOR GAGE
CHOSE DELEGATES TO
THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS."

After a line or two of record, that here:

"IN CONTEMPT OF HIS (GAGE'S) AUTHORITY THE
MEMBERS MET IN THIS TOWN HOUSE, OCT. 5,
AND AFTER ORGANIZING RESOLVED THEMSELVES INTO
A PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
AND ADJOURNED TO CONCORD."

Salem and Concord had thus become so far centres of active disaffection that considerable stores of arms and warlike materials had accumulated in both towns. The Governor issued orders for the confiscation of some brass cannon and other stores reported to be deposited at or near Salem. The little expeditionary force landed at Marblehead during afternoon Meeting on Sunday

[1] MS. of Correspondence of Earl of Dartmouth, Historical MSS. Commission. Report 14, xiv. vol. ii., *American Papers*, p. 255, fol. 3.

28th February 1775, with the intention of marching to Salem in fulfilment of orders. But the inhabitants of Marblehead would not allow them to proceed. A message despatched to Salem had secured the safety of the cannon; while Colonel Leslie in command of the British troops was informed that if he attempted to force his way his little battalion would be annihilated. There were at that time eighty companies of militia, comprising nearly the whole male population of that side of the county of Essex. These had been drilled to prompt mobilisation, and had orders to fire at the British from behind cover in case Colonel Leslie, having got so far as Salem, should have succeeded in his quest. The guns, the Patriots said, were to be held at all costs. Leslie, who possibly had been instructed to keep the peace at any price, retired by ship across the bay to Boston, having effected nothing.[1]

Lord Dartmouth's little lectures to the Governor arrived a day or two late. War without the formality of trumpet or herald had already begun; resistance under arms to the King's troops while in the execution of their duty, was an Act of War.

The new parliament, provoked beyond measure, resolved that further coercion should be authorised. To the King's ships was entrusted the execution of an enactment that no New England States should trade over sea with any community. This cut off the fishermen of Marblehead, Gloucester, and Falmouth from the Grand Banks, and shut down the exportation of rum, and the importation of negroes. In other words the Ministry declared a close blockade of the New England coast.

General Gage was to be reinforced so as to bring his command up to 10,000 men—a number miserably inadequate to the task in hand, yet a number that almost denuded Great Britain of troops.

On 4th March Gage apprised Dartmouth that 1775.

[1] Cf. John Howard's account of this incident in F. Moore, i. 29.

a Special Committee, among whom were Mr. John Hancock and Dr. J. Warren, had been appointed to keep close watch on the troops and report their movements; that a system of expresses to get the minute-men together to resist the army had been organised; and that military stores were collecting in Concord and Worcester. The country, he said, swarmed with spies; every movement of the British was signalled somehow to all the country side.

Concord. Concord, the Mecca of this Civil War, lies some eighteen miles to the north-west of Boston, amid sylvan scenes and a pleasant country. Here stands the pretty house of Nathaniel Hawthorne, with its long front and verandah, as well as the house of Ralph Waldo Emerson; while tablet and statue[1] record some of the events that once stirred up to its depths the repose of this beautiful and peaceful place.

In Concord had been collected great quantities of stores suitable for armed resistance.

> Spades, bill-hooks, iron pots, and wooden mess bowls, cartridge paper, powder, and fuses, grape and round shot, bombs, mortars, musket balls and flints, molasses, salt fish, oatmeal, and flour,

as waggon-master Goddard records in his Account Book; together with these useful articles were large supplies of beef, rice, linen, and other goods, accumulated during many months. General Gage, thinking it high time to put a check on all these warlike preparations despatched a force to capture and destroy the stores in Concord. It is a long tramp to Concord from the eastern outskirts of Cambridge, and on April 1776. that wet April morning the roads were none of the best. To march in heavy, ill-fitting boots, gaiters over knee high and tight besides, with a firelock weighing some fourteen pounds, and a coat of coarse stuff,

[1] As a matter of fact the whole road from Cambridge to Concord is punctuated with stones, slabs, and other memorials of the great day, to say nothing of that stone cannon which marks a point of Percy's retreat.

clipping and pinching the body into a kind of breathlessness, would tax the endurance and energies of any troops, especially if by a series of blunders no rations for use during a long and wearisome day had been served out. However, early in the morning, while it was yet dark, Colonel Francis Smith of the 10th with his own regiment and flank companies of other regiments pushed forward to Lexington, which was reached about sunrise. If the movement were intended for a surprise, the Patriots were ahead of the officials. All through this struggle for Independence the Patriots were kept fully informed (except on one occasion) of the movements of the King's troops.

Revere had already arranged with friends in Charlestown that from the Steeple of North Church (if this be also Christ Church, Boston) signals by lanterns should apprise Patriots on the other side of the water that the British had started. Revere on the previous Sunday had been at Lexington to confer with Hancock and Adams, who were staying with Mr. Clarke, Pastor of the Church in Lexington, a connection by marriage of Hancock's. Revere got across the water well ahead of the British troops, and rode hard to Lexington to warn Hancock and Samuel Adams, against whom warrants of arrest for high treason had been issued by Governor Gage. Just after midnight news reached Lexington that about twelve hundred men were moving out from Boston. Alarm guns were fired, drums were beat, and the Minute-men assembled. To turn out with the quickness of a fireman, ready equipped with musket, powder-horn, and box full of ball was the duty of the men, who undertook to do all these things in a minute. On Lexington Green there is an idealized figure of Captain John Parker, commander of the Minute-men on that great day. At Concord at the Bridge End there is another effigy of a Minute-man, for which Emerson's poetry supplied the well-known inscription.

On that day the Minute-men justified all expectations of them. The first open collision of the war began

about sunrise on Lexington Green, where some Patriots were killed, and where the great question was raised in after time, "Who began the War?" In Lexington are Major Pitcairn's pistols in the Hancock-Clarke Museum. He is said to have fired the first shot—the pistols are there in evidence—but this hoary dispute is a matter of no importance. The quarrel between the people and the soldiers had been festering for years. Under such circumstances muskets are only too apt to let loose bullets without orders. The bitter nature of the dispute finds testimony in the acrimonious sermons of the local Congregationalist Pastors, and in the stories, traditional and reproduced picturewise on post-cards to this day.[1]

The expeditionary party marched forward to Concord nine miles ahead, and here a second bicker took place at the Bridge, where the shot was fired "that was heard round the world." A beautiful spot, far remote in aspect from all these contentious associations, and somewhat spoiled by the taste of a generation, who, a century after the events, thought it wise to materialise the memories of a struggle, which in detail comprised a multitude of incidents full of discredit to both parties in this Civil War. Colonel Smith destroyed some stores

[1] *E.g.* 1st, A sermon preached in Lexington on 19th April 1776, by Mr. Jonas Clarke, pastor of the congregation there; 2nd, A yarn connected with the "Wright Tavern," Concord, Mass., according to which Major Pitcairn, as he stirred his toddy with his finger, announced to the men and officers about him how in this way they would stir the blood of the damnation rebels before nightfall. "Pitcairn," says Mr. Drake, "will always be remembered as the leader of the advance guard who fired on the Provincials at Lexington, and began the 'great drama of the Revolution.' He always maintained that the minute-men fired first, which those present on the American side warmly disputed. This circumstance has associated Pitcairn's name with undeserved obloquy, for he was a brave officer and a kind-hearted man." S. A. Drake, *Landmarks of Boston*, p. 217; cf. also a fuller estimate of this kindly veteran by Mr. Harold Murdock in *Earl Percy's Dinner Table*. It is not to the credit of Concord that such a cruel libel on Pitcairn should be circulated as a kind of advertisement of a tavern more than a century after Pitcairn's fall on Bunker Hill.

here ;[1] and, his men being footsore and chafed after a breakfastless march of fifteen miles over rude and roughly constructed roads, issued orders for an hour or two's repose. A little after mid-day the march homeward to Boston began, but by this time the whole country side was up. Farmers and their boys with fowling-piece in hand collected from all quarters to spend a day's shooting at quite a novel kind of game. All along the exposed and imperfect road from Concord to Lexington the battue continued. The Patriots were exhorted to their duties on this great day by extemporary chaplains, the Reverends William Emerson, and Messrs. Fraser, Payson, and Gordon. Nor was Mr. Jonas Clarke far away from the scene of reprisals. When the British troops arrived at Lexington Green they were quite exhausted. The timely arrival of Earl Percy with about 1000 men and two field-pieces checked the Patriots for a while, but on Percy's resuming the march towards Boston, the battle was renewed and sustained through Arlington, and so forward to Charlestown. The ammunition of the British had run short, and Percy had much difficulty in extricating his force from the peril of total destruction. Out of 1800 men taking part in this expedition, 280 were placed out of action. Of the Patriots there were eighty-eight casualties, among the latter an accident to the popular and fashionable Dr. Warren carried away a hairpin and disarranged the set of his wig. Nor must Mr. Samuel Adams and his *fidus Achates* be

[1] The official account of this disastrous day reached London in time for publication in the *London Gazette*, 10th June 1775. It is relied upon by American and British writers such as Frothingham, Bolton, and Trevelyan. The *Salem Gazette* of 25th April 1775, gives an account varying in particulars from the official account. The *Salem Gazette* appears to have picked up most of its information from Mr. Jonas Clarke. As to the stores destroyed, waggon-master Goddard and the Rev. W. Gordon may be relied on, and General Gage's contention that the troops effected what they were sent to effect is correct. Trevelyan calls the expedition a trumpery operation, and appears to find some obscure satisfaction in its failure.

omitted, who, at a distance consistent with safety, uttered pious ejaculations at the repeated noise of firing. Adams and Hancock soon afterwards quitted Lexington for Philadelphia.

This engagement caused both sides surprise with great elation or great chagrin. In vain it was pointed out in extenuation of the British disaster, that the troops were broken by fatigue, sick with hunger, mad with thirst, exhausted in spirit by a thirty miles' fight, of which the last fifteen had been transacted under the condition of all the killing being on one side and all the dying on the other. The obvious retort was that British officers of experience should not have taken their men out with insufficient food supply, and clothing unsuitable to a cold spring day, nor have delayed so long at Concord; also that the series of blunders of subordinates which retarded Lord Percy's march by some hours, could not have occurred under an efficient administration. The fact remains that disciplined British troops had been defeated by irregular forces, whose real strength had been strangely under-estimated. Gage and many of his staff knew by experience the quality of border fighting and, it was urged, should have been prepared for the only kind of warfare men of intelligence accustomed to get behind a gun, would be sure to pursue; it was mere fatuity to expect that Minute-men would stand up in blocks to be mown down by grape. Colonel Francis Smith's detachment should have been wiped out; but there was scalping and earlopping of Britishers to be done, either by some of the foresters and woodcutters of the rougher sort, or by the Indian contingent of the Minute-men, which gave rise to delay. There may have been some hesitation, too, on the part of rustics who had no one to lead them, or to direct operations.

Lord Percy, at least, was now under no delusion as to the quality of the militia of New England. He sent home a letter containing eulogies of the Minute-men for their smartness in taking advantage of every

bit of shelter, in their consciousness that the main duty of a soldier in action is to kill and not to be killed.[1]

Effect of Lexington.

The effect of this rout of the British at Lexington was instantaneous. The famous ride that carried the news southward and westward from township to township and from city to city has not yet been made the subject of stirring ballad or epic, but the news as it travelled aroused a fiery excitement.

The Eirenicon of Lord North, with regard to the cessation of all external taxation on the condition that the provinces should tax themselves for the maintenance of law and order, was now rejected. Acts of war became general. In New York there was a considerable accumulation of ordnance, of shot, and of other war material. The chief storekeeper, having no force adequate for protection of these stores, had relied upon the loyalty and honesty of neighbours to protect them. For some months, indeed, this kind of unwritten guarantee was valid enough, but Lexington aroused another spirit, the stores were sacked, and the storekeeper could not get even the semblance of redress. The Grand Jury and the Mayor of New York kept up a comedy of regrets and apologies, but refused aid; and what is more surprising, George Vanderputt, Esq., Captain of H.M.S. *Asia*, would not, on a question of punctilio, interfere to protect the King's property.[2] Another result was that all roads were watched by Patriots and all postal matter seized; while Captain Oliver de Lancey reported that, having been commissioned to purchase horses for the XVIIth Dragoons in New York and elsewhere, he had been unable to get his purchases through to Boston.

The King's highway no longer existed. The whole

[1] Percy's opinion was confirmed two years later by Burgoyne, in his well-known account of the efficiency of the men of the Hampshire Grants.

[2] Outrage reported to General Gage by Francis Stevens, storekeeper at New York, 13th July 1775.—*Firle Papers*. Similar reports from other quarters to the Governor are frequent up to 1st August 1775, when outside reports to Gage cease.

land was now ablaze. About half of General Gage's slender force had been despatched to Concord. The moral result of this disaster was bad enough, but Gage's force being now quite inadequate for offensive warfare, he was compelled to await reinforcements. Meanwhile the American militia in thousands soon formed a long blockading line right around the town. Of the composition of that army some notice is deferred to another chapter, but we may now observe that serious attempts were made to include the Indians of New York amidst the armed forces of the American people. There was a missionary in western New York, who had much weight with the Six Nations of the Long House. To him had been addressed the following letter :

CONCORD, *4th April* 1775.

To the Reverend Samuel Kirkland.

SIR—The Provincial Congress have thought it necessary to address the Sachem of the Mohawk tribe, with the rest of the Six Nations, upon the subject of the controversy between Great Britain and the American Colonies.[1] We are induced to take this measure, as we have been informed that those who are inimical to us in Canada have been tampering with those nations, and endeavouring to attach them to the interests of those who are attempting to deprive us of our inestimable rights and privileges, and to subjugate the Colonies to arbitrary power. From a confidence in your attachment to the cause of liberty and your country, we now transmit to you the enclosed address, and desire you will deliver it to the Sachem of the Mohawk tribe, to be communicated to the rest of the Six Nations, and that you will use your influence with them to join with us in the defence of our rights. But if you cannot prevail with them to take an active part in this glorious cause that you will at least engage them to stand neuter, and not by any means to aid and assist our enemies, and as we are at a loss for the name of the Sachem of the Mohawk tribe, we have left it to you to direct the address to him in such a way as you may think proper.

This letter was kept secret for scores of years, and

[1] The traditional Six Nations were Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. The Mohawks lay to the eastward, with headquarters at Shenectady, N.Y.

was perhaps not known to many. It is, however, certain that among the Minute-men were enrolled a company of the Stockbridge Indians, and it is probable that the scalping and ear-trimming imputed to the victors of Lexington may have been done by men of this contingent.[1]

It should also be borne in mind

> . . . that the Massachusetts delegates, the framers of this very letter, were among those that expressed the highest astonishment and indignation when, at a later period, a similar policy was adopted by the British side.[2]

Open war begins.

The leaguer of Boston was rapidly closed in, so that all now remaining to the British Crown in settled America below the St. Lawrence was the territory on the peninsula protected by the Neck of Boston. War had now begun. Predatory exploits in places which, being remote from the centres of disturbance, lay at the mercy of an enterprising man, became numerous. If there lingers anywhere, a superstitious reverence for the theory that before you hit your foe you ought to tell him when you intend to begin, some knowledge of the proceedings of the Patriots should dissipate this fond idea.

South and west of New York there was not a single British soldier. Only a few small ships in the King's commission cruised about in the estuaries and rivers. The Patriots equipped and commissioned little vessels of a few hundred tons to pick up what was going anywhere on the high seas. This proceeding was technically piracy. A vast amount of gunpowder was

[1] *Washington's Writings*, Jared Sparks, iii. 494. Mr. Frothingham admits that in Concord a wounded British soldier was butchered by a Patriot with a meat-axe, and thinks, as this was the only instance of the kind, the story of the scalping and slaying began with this deplorable incident.

[2] Mahon, vi. 52. The article in Justin Winsor vi., by Andrew M'Farland Davis, on Border warfare of the Revolution is eminently fair, and very full of detail. See also Moore's *Diary*, i. 474, where a capture of prisoners by Stockbridge Indians is described. Washington used Indians freely as scouts. See further the chapter on Burgoyne and Saratoga.

collected by these means, chiefly from Bermuda. The English officials in the West Indies knew nothing about the war, and were unable to resist the colonial privateers.

May 1775. Ticonderoga was captured by a set of filibusters commanded by Ethan Allen, who had the advice and support of Benedict Arnold, of whose ability, bravery, resourcefulness, and instability of character there is copious evidence in many episodes of this war. The design to lay hold of the high waterway to Canada was Arnold's, but getting wind of the idea, for Arnold, like Charles Lee, was much given to unguarded conversation and letter-writing, Ethan Allen speedily put the plan into execution. The Connecticut Provincial Assembly granted Allen leave to raise a force of Connecticut Minute-men, whom he turned into a kind of dragoons. These rode up to a point opposite the fort, where, crossing the lake, they executed a movement of surprise on Ticonderoga, and found the officer in charge and all his forty men a-bed, except the sentinel, who was overpowered.[1] Benedict Arnold, having arrived too late to share in the first movement of the expedition, accepted a subordinate post in this guerilla force, which, fired by the success at Ticonderoga, proceeded with augmented numbers to surprise the corporal and eight men at Crown Point, and the equally slender garrisons at Fort George and St. John's. This little raid on a series of outposts, of which the tenants had reason to think themselves in peaceful occupation,

[1] Chief-Justice John Marshall (*Life of Washington*, ii. 264) gives a most impartial account of this little bloodless victory. Bancroft describes it in terms which might be thought inflated if applied to the capture of Quebec. But cf. Fortescue, iii. 153: "With great cunning he (Ethan Allen) paid an innocent visit to the officer in command, borrowed twenty men of him for certain heavy work on the lake, made every man of them drunk, and on the same night captured the post without firing a shot." The little garrison commanded by Captain De la Place consisted of a party of the 26th Regiment, and their duties seem to have been discharged in the random way so common in that century.

fostered the notion, afterwards developed into execution, of the disastrous invasion of Canada by Benedict Arnold and Montgomery a few months later.

These acts of burglarious enterprise secured for Congress about 200 pieces of cannon, and placed Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, in a very awkward position.

In May 1775 it was no part of their policy to approve of overt acts of war on the part of Patriots. The Congress was not a constitutional body. It was not the Council or Parliament of a confederation of Free States. It had neither constitutional authority, nor legislative power, nor right to levy taxes, nor to issue writs of summons, nor to make any money commitments. It never had any money, nor had it constitutional power to grant commissions, nor to issue orders of a general kind on any matter. The Congresses of 1774 and 1775 were meetings of delegates from the thirteen States, gathered to confer upon their common perils, and to offer suggestions to the Assemblies of the thirteen States, whose nominees the delegates were. Having, therefore, no authority to declare war, and being still desirous of deferring the appeal to arms, Mr. Ethan Allen's exploits were an embarrassment to them. The movement had been a Connecticut movement, and there was a savour of brigandage in it not quite to the taste of the respectable gentlemen collected in Philadelphia.[1]

Hence the war declared itself. Resistance to the King's forces in the execution of their duty at Marblehead, at Lexington, at Concord, was neither disowned nor ratified in Carpenters' Hall. Yet the results were

[1] The capture was justified in Congress by a statement "that a design had been formed for a cruel invasion of the Colonies from Canada. The cannon were to be returned to Great Britain when the former harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies should be restored."—Marshall, p. 266. The anomalous position of Congress towards the constituent States, Great Britain, and all foreign powers is noticed in Chapter VI., and elsewhere in these pages.

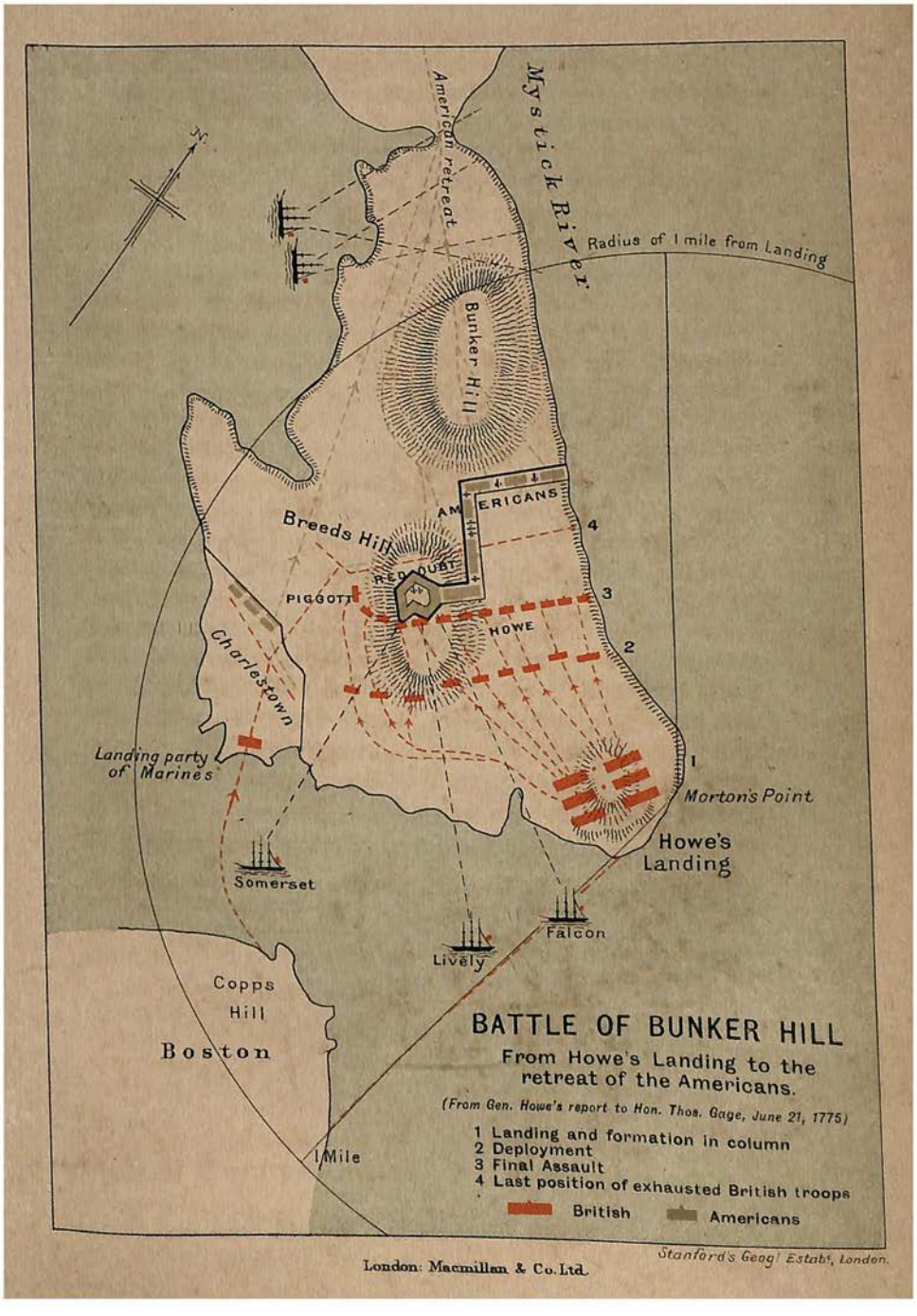
recognised, and Congress soon found itself entering upon a number of resolutions and propositions confirming the rebels of Massachusetts and Connecticut in their contumacy.

Meanwhile, on 25th May the *Cerberus* arrived in Boston Bay with a precious freight: Sir William Howe, M.P. for Nottingham; Sir John Burgoyne, M.P. for Preston; and Sir Henry Clinton, M.P. for Newark, and their *valetaille*.

At the same time came into port three regiments of foot and Preston's dragoons, the latter about 300 strong. The face of Boston now changed; Patriots, having accepted free passes to get out of the town, had left in some numbers; Loyalists, to escape the attentions of their Patriot neighbours, flocked into the town. There were no longer any Caucuses at "The Grapes," or fire-eating meetings at Faneuil. Entertainments at Province House, where Madam Gage presided with the social adroitness and tact of a lady of high New Jersey family, were crowded with uniformed men from both fleet and camp. Yet suspicion attended this lady as being not too loyal to her husband's party and to the King.[1] It was hinted that the Governor was uxorious, and had no secrets from his wife, who passed word to the spies swarming outside. At any rate, whatever was designed in Boston was, it is alleged, known within an hour or two at Medford, at Roxbury, at Cambridge, at Brookline, and in every Boston tavern.[2]

[1] Madam Gage was Margaret, daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq., President of the Council of New Jersey, and granddaughter of the Hon. Stephen van Cortlandt, one of the great patroons of New York. Her marriage to the Hon. Thomas Gage, Esq., took place on 8th December 1758.

[2] "It seems the officers and soldiers are a good deal disaffected towards the Governor, thinking, I suppose, he is partial to the inhabitants."—*Letters of John Andrews, formerly Selectman of Boston*, p. 401. The Governor's partiality is alleged to have been largely due to his wife. Backstairs correspondence between subordinate Generals and Whitehall or the Treasury occurs at every stage of this war. Burgoyne had practised it; afterwards he suffered from it. There is no doubt Whitehall encouraged a kind of unofficial




London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.
Stanford's Geogl Estabt, London.

Burgoyne, too, seems to have formed a poor opinion of General Gage, and had no scruple in writing to his own and Gage's official superiors uninvited criticisms on the Governor. The amazing point about this correspondence is that the Colonial Secretary accepted and acted on it. So much disloyalty in all directions does there seem to have been at work in connection with that explosive city.[1]

The lurid romances depicting General Gage and his little court, their pompous extravagance and heartlessness, are hard to follow if, as Burgoyne reports, there was no money in the military chest, and mutton was a guinea a pound.

Bunker Hill, which in that slope of it lying closer to Charlestown was known as Breed's Hill, lies parallel to the shorter axis of the town. The newly-arrived military advisers of General Gage at once impressed upon him the necessity of fortifying both Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights.

Some have censured Gage for not occupying Bunker Hill early in that year. But it is now fairly obvious that, prior to the arrival of the reinforcements from Britain and Canada, his force was quite inadequate to his responsibilities. The frosty value of the boycott is not a whit better understood now than it was more than a century ago. There were no local carpenters

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espionage. At the end of this chapter see a letter from a spy in the pay of the British, who reports that whatever is done officially in Boston is known at Washington's headquarters immediately.—*Firle Papers*, 24th September 1775.

[1] There are prodigious stories about the success of the Patriots, and the inefficiency and cowardice of the King's troops, in connection with marauding expeditions and raids on these islands. The Boston journals being now somewhat under a cloud, the reports came from the *Virginia Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, which latter reported of the British that "from the General down to the common soldier they were in a great panic, and are afraid to go to bed for fear the Yankees will kill them before morning." Cf. F. Moore's *Diary*, i. 84, 85, 86, 87. These newspaper reports are expanded at eloquent length by Bancroft *in locis*.

or joiners to be had for any consideration; there were no waggons, nor carts, nor horses in the service of the Government of Massachusetts; there was little money to purchase them, even had there been a supply. Fresh meat was very scarce; fish was still more scarce. The King's ships in the harbour were undermanned, ill-supplied with ammunition, poorly victualled, leaky, and rotting. The boats of the fleet were not quick nor numerous enough to keep the waters about Boston clear of marauding Patriots.

The bay, as has been already mentioned, is studded with islands: Apple Island, Hog Island, Deer Island, Noddle Island, and Grape Island. These were reported to afford excellent pasturage to sheep and cattle, yet were they swept clear of every horn and hoof, and that sometimes under the very guns of the British.

The eleven thousand troops now at the disposal of the General were thus from the very beginning of this war in Massachusetts, involved in abnormal difficulties.

However, it was resolved to fortify Bunker Hill. No sooner was the determination arrived at than it was known in Patriot quarters.

The net of voluntary espionage in Boston had very small meshes. Gage had offered all Whigs reasonable facilities for moving out of the town, while Patriots allowed, by way of barter, Loyalists to come in from the rural parishes; yet an appreciable number of Patriots remained behind to help the good cause. There were enough of them to betray or surprise secrets; to say nothing of the suspected disloyalty in Province House itself. At any rate, the New England men, twelve hundred strong, moved out of Cambridge on 16th June 1775, and effected an armed occupation of Bunker Hill.

Bunker Hill.

Equipped with entrenching tools and being handy at digging, they succeeded in the brief hours of mid-summer darkness in running up a redoubt of about 150 feet frontage with collateral trenches and approaches.

The frontal slope is thought to have been Breed's Hill with a declivity terminating with the little borough of Charlestown. The work moved ahead noiselessly, and when the morning dawned the Patriots were thought to be safely established in a strong position.

But had Cromwell been in command of the British he had surely repeated his famous ejaculation before the battle of Dunbar; for as Stedman points out (his remarks have sometimes been repeated as their own by subsequent writers), the neck of Charlestown might have been occupied, and vessels of light draught brought close in to sweep by fire the communications and rear of the American force.

A bird's eye view of the little peninsula of which Bunker Hill was a slight roll in the ground, suggests the outline of a pear of which the stalk or stem constitutes an isthmus of a few hundred feet broad. The harbour waters of the bay are as a frame or setting to this figure. What the fleet failed to do on this occasion is one of the baffling incidents of this most disconcerting day.[1]

They were now in shore lying at anchor, the *Somerset*, the *Glasgow*, the *Lively*, the *Falcon*, the *Spitfire*, the *Cerberus*, and many other vessels. Opposite to Charlestown, and within 1200 yards of the face of Breed's Hill was Copps Hill, on the sea face of which the British had constructed a redoubt. A council of war was held in Province

[1] It is almost incredible to our current ideas, that British ships should have been passed into naval service by fraudulent contractors in the condition, an increasing volume of evidence goes to show was only too common. Vessels caulked with putty, copper bolts and rivets under contract size, masts that were loose in their foot gear, powder reduced in quality so as not to carry a shot a hundred yards, twice laid rope for rigging, projectiles that did not fit the calibre of their cannon, sails rotten with damp, and as thin as a pocket-handkerchief; such are among the endless complaints of the time against the Admiralty, the dockyards, and the contractors. See the chapter on the Military Forces of the Crown.

House, at which, after strenuous debate, a frontal attack was directed to be delivered. Sir Henry Clinton and Colonel Abercromby (the latter perished in the subsequent engagement) had suggested the capture of Charlestown Neck. Earl Percy was absent from the Council and from the action, indisposed it was said. Mr. Bancroft hints that Percy's indisposition was a convenient moveable illness, caused by his sympathy with the Patriots. Orders being issued, the troops marched from the Common along King Street to the Long Wharf, where Cuthbert Collingwood was gaining some experience in the movement of troops. The rankers all carried their full fighting kit, which was computed to weigh in total a hundred pounds. In tight smart uniform, with buttons and gorgets that winked and flashed in the bright summer sun, no cleaner or finer targets for fowling or buck-shot practice could have been desired. Neither Burgoyne nor Clinton was officially on duty; the whole conduct of the affair was entrusted to Sir William Howe, and Brigadier-General Pigott. The venerable and kindly Pitcairn was in charge of the marines. Burgoyne used the occasion for an excursion into elegant literature. Clinton, however, brought himself under fire later on in the day. The heat in New England is in summer time occasionally very oppressive. On this 17th of June 1775, the heat was intense. Advancing then through tall uncut hay—more than knee high, which would be rapidly trodden down into a slippery muck, the British forces toiled up the slope, which rose then somewhat sharply from the water-front on the Boston face of Breed's Hill. The summit of the hill has been truncated and levelled somewhat to supply room and foundations for the numerous memorials that now adorn the hill.

Meanwhile the ships in harbour taking up positions had been pounding away all the morning at the American redoubts, but whether the shooting was

wild, or the powder of the pipeclay order, or the guns could not be elevated to pitch shot into the earthworks, the attack for some reason failed, and it appears as if a ton of metal had been used up to slay one man. The vessels detailed to rake the isthmus, and check reinforcements to the Patriots, "made very good practice"[1] says Howe, but with little effect.

A reference to a plan of the action shows that to destroy the little borough of Charlestown became imperative as the day advanced. The town was set ablaze by the battery on Copps Hill, and some boats from the men-of-war.[2]

The lines of entrenchment constructed by the Minute-men under the direction of Colonel Prescott, lay obliquely from the right front on Breed's Hill, to the left front on the south-east slope of Bunker Hill. Behind them stood the Minute-men with some Stockbridge Indians and negroes;[3] all armed with fowling-pieces, of which many were seven feet long. The best shots were placed in front, and assisted by loaders who filled up the long smooth bores with scraps of iron, buttons, buck-shot, anything handy in fact. Sir William Howe at the head of the attacking party had under his command some or all the companies of fifteen regiments: the 4th, 5th, 10th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 35th, 38th, 43rd, 47th, 52nd, 59th, 63rd, 64th, 65th, besides 700 marines and companies of the 4th battalion of artillery.

Of the scanty field artillery little use could be made, as shot unsuitable to the calibre of the guns

[1] Cf. Sir William Howe's *Report*, 21st June 1775. Appendix to this chapter.

[2] Congress recognising the military necessity of the burning of Charlestown, declined, probably under the well-known restrictive covenants of Fire Assurances as to the Acts of Enemies, to compensate the people of Charlestown for their losses, which were estimated at £200,000.

[3] Bolton (p. 217), speaks of the conspicuous bravery of Salem Poor, a negro.

had been sent over from Boston.[1] The troops advanced through uncut breadths of hay in handsome parade order, occasionally letting loose a parade volley at nothing in particular. They crossed a fence or two and reached their objective.

Meanwhile the American farmers, negroes, and Stockbridge Indians waited until the patterns and badges of braid and button were quite visible, and then aiming rather low so as to allow for kick, let loose the charge into the waistcoats of the British, so as to tear out their entrails. Every officer of Howe's *family* and personal staff was killed or wounded. The British fell in screaming and writhing heaps. The force withdrew in disorder, but Howe, who had come out unscathed, reformed his men in the slight depression that lay between Breed's Hill and Charlestown, and renewed his attack with the same result. At this juncture the marines directed by Sir Henry Clinton, came into action, and a third assault was ordered. In forming for the final attack it was directed that the men should throw aside their impedimenta and loosen straps and belts. The same sort of mishandling that had despatched troops to Concord on a cold spring night with little food and insufficient warm clothing for a twenty miles' march, had loaded up the ranker with three days' provisions and a full kit for an expedition of which the objective was within easy view of any church spire in Boston. In fact General Gage with the aid of a field-glass watched the engagement from the tower of Christ Church.[2]

The final assault is described by Lieut. J. Waller of the 1st Marine Battalion.

[1] This little misunderstanding is alleged to be due to the incompetence of an elderly officer who spent his hours sporting with some Boston Amaryllis. (Cf. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, p. 140.) But these trivial incidents occur in war—witness the omitted fascines in the British attack on New Orleans in 1815, and the matter of the ammunition boxes at Isandhlana in 1878.

[2] *Old Landmarks of Boston*, p. 216.

Two companies of the 1st Battalion of Marines and part of the 47th Regiment were the first who mounted the breastwork. You will not be displeased when I tell you that I was with these two companies who drove bayonets into all that oppose them. Nothing could have been more shocking than the carnage which followed the storming of this work. We tumbled over the dead to get at the living as they crowded out of the gorge of the redoubt in order to form under the defences which they had prepared to cover their retreat. The rebels had from 5000 to 7000 men covered by a breastwork, walls, hedges, and the like, and the number of the troops under General Howe who performed this gallant business did not amount to 1500.

Mr. Waller's estimate of the British troops is about one thousand under the mark; his estimate of the Americans is exaggerated.[1] It is not possible to arrive at accurate totals. Human nature will be served, and loves exaggeration of difficulties after either success or failure. The British loss, however, was scandalously large. Out of 2500 British men of all ranks who went into action, 1150 fell either killed or wounded. This figure denotes the loss of 46 per cent of the effective men. Nothing in the history of the British army is more worthy of notice than the patience and fortitude of the rank and file on this occasion under the murderous tactics of their commanding officers. The young squires, the company officers, did as well as the men, but higher praise cannot be awarded to them. The frontal attack on Montcalm's position at Ticonderoga, in which George Howe had lost his valued life, was an affair of mismanagement and blood, but it was not proportionately so calamitous as the affair of Bunker Hill. At St. Privat, the 1st Brigade of Guards of the German army lost 35 to 36 per cent of their effective. At Mars la Tour 31.6, at Gravelotte

[1] "Two thousand British infantry succeeded in dislodging some four thousand New England Militia"; cf. *History of Infantry*, Col. E. M. Lloyd, R.E., p. 184; Nicholas, *History of the Royal Marines*, i. 87; Lieut. Waller to his father, 22nd June 1775, five days after the battle.

29.2, at Woerth 26.6, at Borny 23.5 of the attacking forces fell, while at Magersfontein the loss of the Highland Brigade was large enough to throw a gloom over that splendid force which the lapse of many years will not dispel.[1] Bunker Hill, however, for mere butchery and persistent unquenchable courage, casts all these portentous encounters, bloody though they were, into comparative shade.

"In truth," says Mr. Fortescue, "the return of the British Infantry to the third attack after two such bloody repulses, is one of the very greatest feats ever recorded of them, and points to fine quality among the men, grand pride in their regiments, and supreme excellence in discipline."

Few things in the affairs of those incoherent days are more perplexing than comparison of the humble, sordid and sometimes criminal origin of the British soldier and his splendid behaviour in the field. Here on this occasion were men newly arrived in some thousands from England, most of them recruits, or at least neophytes to the discipline of fire, who fought and fell together with a stoical firmness not to be surpassed by the most select of veteran corps.[2]

The unspeakable Barré, however, in the House of Commons, impugned the conduct of the troops, not that he accused them of cowardice, but hinted that their aversion for the policy of the Ministry caused them to be lukewarm in their service, and so forth, according to the style of Whigs at that time. Throw-

[1] Cf. *Modern Tactics*, Col. R. Home, Lieut.-Col. F. C. Pratt, 1896; *Études pratiques de guerre*, Lamiroux, 1892; Times' *History of Boer War*, *Magersfontein*; Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, iii. 160. But at Wagram (1809) Macdonald's corps, in execution of an attack on the Austrian Centre lost 75 per cent of its effective. See also the battle at Franklin, U.S.A., 3rd November 1864, in a Monograph by Major-General Jacob D. Cox, U.S.A., and in *Civil War in U.S.A.*, W. B. Woods and Major Edmonds, London, 1908.

[2] Mr. Sidney Low in an article on Talavera (*Blackwood*, July 1909), points out the splendid conduct of the recruits in the British army at that engagement. These are the men the Duke of Wellington called "the scum of the earth."

ing up commissions, that is, deserting obligations because their duties were not to their taste, was common enough among the hangers-on of the great Whig families, who, had they been sergeant-majors and not cornets and ensigns, would have been tied up to the triangles, or shot for their pains. But there is very slender evidence that the men of the army shirked their duties because of their political prejudices. Lord Chatham's eldest son withdrew from the army in America, under the protection of his father's great name;[1] and it had been well for the fame of the British Army had the scruples of his tender military conscience kept him out of the army for the rest of his days. The young Lord Effingham, on his regiment being under orders for America, threw up his commission, and won thereby the admiration of the Common Council of London, which hailed him as a true Englishman, for his scrupulous prudence; there were a few instances of the like kind among the well-placed, the men out of reach of the cat-o'-nine tails. The disaffection went no further. Colonel Barré's attempt to belittle the poor obscure victims of the terrible attack of the 17th of June is a prominent example of the bitterness of contemporary faction.

In this engagement Major Pitcairn, in command of the contingent of marines, was killed, falling into the arms of his son; while among the severely wounded was Captain Harris, afterwards Lord Harris of Seringapatam. Eighty-nine officers were killed or badly wounded; of the latter many subsequently died of their wounds, while others never served again. Major-General Howe, of whose personal bravery even to recklessness there was never a suspicion, remained unscathed, although every one of his personal staff fell about him in the first attack. The remarkable fortune affecting General Howe's person, appears to have sheltered from harm Evans his valet, who had come under fire in charge of a hamper of wine for

[1] Bancroft, vol. 7, chap. xxxiii.

the sustenance of the General and his family during their perilous labours. The cracking of a bottle of claret by a Patriot missile was, it is alleged, the only casualty in this department of the field of battle.[1]

On the side of the insurgents perished Dr. Joseph Warren, a member of the medical profession. His loss was much deplored by his countrymen, while Howe is credited with a remark that for the British cause, Warren's death was worth five hundred men. His remains were interred with those of others where he fell, but after the retreat of Howe with the British Army to Halifax in the spring of 1776, they were disinterred and conveyed with appropriate ceremonies to the city, where they found their final resting-place in that gloomy cemetery, from which great buildings on three sides out of four, exclude free access of sunlight or sweetening air. He would be remembered, it was prophesied, by the worthy in every part of the world, so long as valour and virtue shall be esteemed among mankind. Warren was serving as a private soldier on this fatal day. Mr. Fiske says that James Otis, now almost imbecile, joined his fellow-patriots at Bunker Hill, and fired a shot or two for the cause. The burning of Charlestown was among the many deplorable incidents of the day. General Burgoyne, whose ambition for literary fame is well known, wrote to Lord Stanley his impressions of the scene as an eye-witness.[2] All Boston were spectators of the battle.

In 1775 Charlestown contained between three and four hundred houses, chiefly built of wood, with a population say of 1500. Of these it is reported that so many inhabitants had abandoned the town that only two hundred remained. Among them were men who with their fire galled the flank of the British advance. The destruction of the place was thus an ordinary incident of

[1] This incident is reported from a British journal (name and date and place not mentioned) by Mr. Frothingham, p. 196.

[2] His eloquence is incorporated by Mr. Frothingham, p. 144, almost word for word, without obvious acknowledgment.

war, and the loss by fire was afterwards estimated as something in excess of £100,000.

Neither the General Court nor Congress indemnified the inhabitants for their losses. The conflagration was locally described as "wrought by the infernal hand of tyranny deluging the world with blood."

The site of this engagement has been much changed. The summit of the hills has been levelled. Charlestown Neck is now hidden between reclamations from the sea on either side; and Charlestown, instead of containing two or three hundred houses, as it did on that day in June, is now a populous and flourishing city, which has absorbed Breed's Farm and Bunker Hill and all the area of the fight, which both the British and the American official reports of the time call *The Battle of Charlestown.*

Gage's report reached London on 25th July 1775, where the great loss sustained aroused a vast sensation. The American report sent to Arthur Lee for the information of sympathetic friends in London, arrived a month later.

Criticism ensued which became more scathing as time advanced. The verdict of subsequent opinion is that the British tactics were a series of blunders from end to end. It has confirmed an impeachment of the conduct of the engagement over the initials T. P. in the *London Chronicle.* The only redeeming feature of the day was the stone-wall fortitude of the regimental officers and men. Sir Henry Clinton, as the Patriots retreated in confusion and with heavy loss, urged on Howe the good policy of an immediate pursuit of the Americans. The affair had terminated by five o'clock, so that many hours of a summer day remained with a good light for further fighting. But Howe declined; nearly half of his force was out of action, and the remainder worn out with desperate fighting;[1] so the Hill remained in British hands a

August 3, 1779.

[1] See Howe's Report to General Gage in the Appendix to this Chapter.

barren trophy. The moral profits lay with the Americans.[1]

They boasted that their force was made up of men of whom the greater number had never fired a shot. This is not true, and could not be true. On the other hand they drew a moral which has had some mischievous results that still influence the opinions of men. It is that men from the machine and the plough can be converted into good soldiers in a week or two of the early weeks of a war.[2] On the British side it is said that the action shook Howe's nerve beyond complete recovery. This notion, American in source, having found favour with Howe's apologists, has been frequently repeated by English writers. Had Sir Henry Clinton been in command, it is thought the war in Massachusetts would have that day come to an end, and that having lost five hundred men and being short of ammunition, the Patriots would have made but a faint stand on the Cambridge side of Charlestown Neck.[3] Prescott, whose judicious courage inspired the American resistance at Bunker Hill, bitterly complained that assistance had not been sent him by officers in charge of the Patriots at the landward end of Charlestown Neck. It was intimated that reluctance to go under close fire impeded their steps. At any rate Prescott considered himself hardly treated, and there was a considerable amount of recrimination and enquiry afterwards. Bunker Hill being now in occupation of the British, it remained to get hold of Dorchester

[1] Cf. Fiske, *American Revolution*, i. 145. Mr. Fiske's account of this engagement is very creditable to his sense of impartiality.

[2] Cf. Marshall, *Life of Washington*, edition 1804, ii. 294, for very pertinent remarks on this popular fallacy.

[3] General Martin Hunter, then ensign of the 52nd, says his regiment was cut up at Bunker Hill, because of brick kilns and enclosures—but that they, the remains of the regiment, were kept at the advance post all that night (of the 17th)—and that attacks on the 52nd were made all that night by Americans; if this were so, the Patriots were still in fighting mood. Cf. Moorsom, *History of 52nd Regiment* (*Oxfordshire Light Infantry*).

Heights to the south of the town, but no attempt was made to seize them.

Boston was now full of the wounded, of whom eight hundred and twenty-six were brought in from the field of carnage. There was poor accommodation for them; supplies were short; there was no Commissariat, and a somewhat defective medical service; there was, besides, but little hope of recovery for any one who fell into the hands of the kind of surgeon employed by the military or naval departments of those days.

Smallpox later on broke out in the town, and the mortality was so terrible, both from wounds and disease, that, on the army quitting Boston in the following March, the estimate of men present with the force places the British army at between seven and eight thousand men.[1] It is at least to be noted that there is ominous silence as to the recovery of the wounded among the rank and file, while of the wounded officers not many ever served again. Hence, if the above estimate be correct, the army had diminished in a few months by 4000 men.

Newly commissioned as General Commanding the Continental forces, Washington arrived at Cambridge on 3rd July, as tradition says, amid much excitement and rejoicing, he opened his commission and drew his sword beneath the famous elm tree on Cambridge Common. The troops in front of him were all New England men, for the war so far had been a New England war. But now all the States by their deputies in Congress assembled at Philadelphia had made the quarrel their own. There had been assigned to Washington ten Legati after the manner of the great Caesar himself. Of these the man who

1775.

June 15, 1775.

[1] Bancroft thinks that about Christmas 1775 Howe's force was barely 6500 men; yet Clinton is said to have subtracted "several regiments" from this handful for his Carolina Expedition in January 1776. Clinton, however, took away only as many men as would constitute a "family" and a guard.

filled the public eye the most was General Charles Lee, fresh from his exploits in the south at Charleston in South Carolina. Then comes General Artemus or Artemas Ward, an ancient warrior, too stout to ride with comfort to himself, and accused by Colonel Prescott of callous indifference to the fate of the Patriots in the redoubts on Bunker Hill.[1] Then General Schuyler, a New York gentleman of great personal refinement and culture, whom in later times Congress treated in a way most discreditable to itself. Then General Israel Putnam, an ancient *coureur de bois*, famous for his knowledge of bush-fighting, who in the Seven Years' War had fought alongside of British officers on the Indian frontier; a rough red-faced man of whom Americans like to speak as a second Cincinnatus, called away from the plough to buckle on his armour in defence of his native land.

There was also Adjutant-General Horatio Gates, afterwards the victor of Saratoga, an Englishman having property in America, who at the time of the outbreak of hostilities was on the retired list of the Royal Americans or Sixtieth, and was drawing half-pay on the English Establishment.

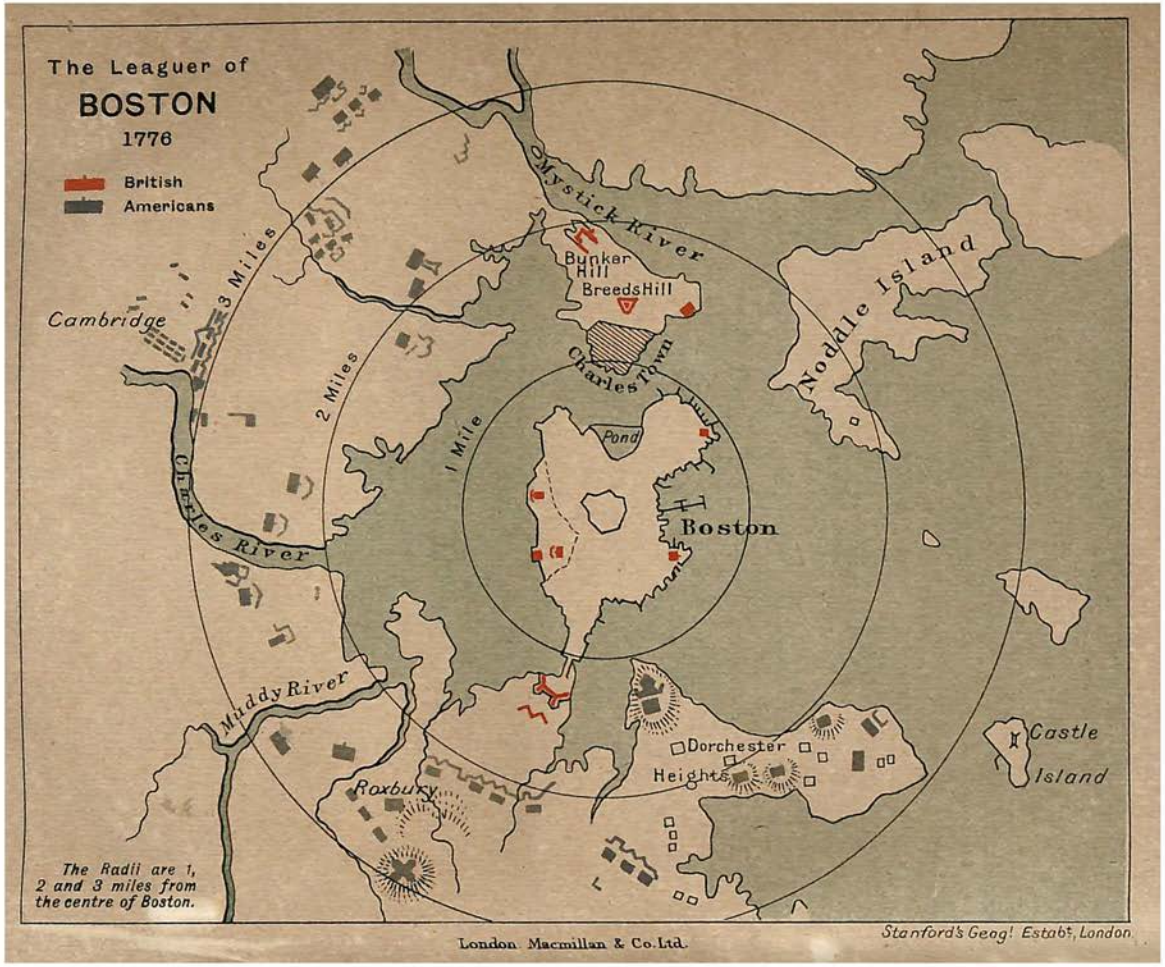
Gates and Charles Lee by-and-by became active among the worst of the enemies of Washington. Of the other Generals mention is necessary of Nathaniel Greene the Quaker of Rhode Island, and Richard Montgomery, an Irishman who, like Washington, had served under the royal flag in the winning of North America from the French.[2] At the time of Washington's appointment, Schuyler and Montgomery were in the back country, watching the line of the Hudson northwards to Lake Champlain. The latter afterwards fell in his attempt to capture Quebec. These appointments were not without their attendant bickerings.

[1] Ward's conduct is mentioned with disparagement in the spy's letter appended to this chapter.

[2] He was in the 17th Regiment of Foot for sixteen years.

LE GENERAL GATES CHEF
de l'Armée Américaine, qui fit capituler le
General burgoine au Camp de Saharatoga le 16 8bre 1777.
Dessiné et gravé par Dupin.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL HORATIO GATES.


The Leaguer of
BOSTON
1776
British
Americans
Mystick River
Bunker Hill
Breeds Hill
Noddle Island
Cambridge
3 Miles
2 Miles
1 Mile
Charles Town
Pond
Charles River
Boston
Muddy River
Dorchester Heights
Roxbury
Castle Island
The Radii are 1, 2 and 3 miles from the centre of Boston.
London. Macmillan & Co. Ltd.
Stanford's Geog! Estabt, London

Two of the brigadiers declined to serve, conceiving themselves slighted by having an inferior man placed over their heads, and there was no promotion for Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill.[1]

With an efficient staff, and nearly 17,000 men, all New Englanders, and with 3000 men from Virginia, Maryland, and the South on their way to his headquarters, it may be surmised that the new Commander-in-Chief had ample resources for the reduction of Boston, occupied and defended as it was by only eight or nine thousand men. But Washington was practically impotent. The Continental Army was of little value as an aggressive force. Short of powder, cavalry, siege artillery, or money, the new Commander-in-Chief was quite unable to adopt any vigorous or forward movement. In these, his earlier days, he was wont to consult his Council of War, and follow their advice. His Council advised him not to seize Dorchester Heights, because of the inability of his troops to hold the place in case of attack from Boston. The Philadelphian Congress, inflated with success, ordered him to storm Boston and expel the British. Washington laid the project in a letter before his own Council of War, which again advised him unanimously that for the present at least the attempt should not be made.

See chapter on the Continental Army.

The siege of Boston by the Continental Army, that is, the army of the United Colonies, presents few features of interest. Neither army was well equipped, but the British Staff does not appear to have had any inkling of the miserably poor equipment of the besieging force. On Bunker Hill, and somewhere about half a mile to the rear of the position stormed on the 17th of June, General Howe constructed a fort which was

[1] The British Head Quarter-Staff at this date was: *General Commanding*, Gage. *Major-Generals*: Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton. *Brigadiers*: Lord Percy, Robertson, Pigott, Jones, Prescott. *Chaplain*: Jones. *Medical Staff*: Morris, Charlton, Grant. *Apothecary*: Roberts. *Storekeeper*: Browne. There was an officer of the name of Prescott on either side; so also in the Continental ranks there were a General Howe and a General Clinton.

practically impregnable by any force Washington could divert to its attack. The British position was therefore secure on the Charlestown side of Boston. Towards Roxbury there had already been under construction a strong redoubt and earthworks on either side of the Neck of Boston. In these two forts were quartered nearly all the British troops. In the centre of the town lay the little brigade of horse and an inconsiderable fraction of the regular infantry, together with some local forces consisting of loyal volunteers. To what number these unfortunate men amounted, remains, I believe, unascertained. The high-sounding names of their incorporation—the Loyal American Associators, the Loyal Irish Volunteers, the Loyal American Fencibles—may have afforded them satisfaction, but the usual fate of the amateur military person overtook them. They were coldly regarded by the regulars; and when the retreat came they had to share the scramble for ship room and safety which ensued upon the embarkation of the regular army. Thus fortified and manned, with gunboats and floating batteries in adjacent waters, and the nominal command of the sea, General Gage might, as it appears, have defied the colonial armies.

On the other side of the Mystic, and straddling the Charles River, lay Washington's troops in a circumferent line twelve miles long. The nominal value of the army is estimated to have been 14,000 men, but the conditions of enlistment deprived this force of true military efficiency. The men were all volunteers according to the conditions of enrolment imposed by the State which furnished them. They owed no allegiance to Congress and none to the Commander-in-Chief. Consequently, at the expiry of their term or in anticipation of it, whole contingents melted away homeward bound. The Connecticut and Rhode
1775. Island men withdrew at Christmas, and would not re-engage; they appear, however, to have been regarded with some dislike, both on leaving the camp and on

their road home.[1] The women especially offered pungent criticism as the war-worn heroes passed by. With an army liable to these perplexing changes of personnel no Commander-in-Chief could succeed; Washington, from August to the end of the year 1775, was pinned to the inactivity of the patriarch Asher.

Nor did the British fare any better. The bravest of men require good nourishment, of which there should have been ample provision in Boston; unhappily, there was not. Admiral Graves, in charge of the Naval Station, was, it appears, a man of little energy and of no inspirations. His official superiors sent him from London many stimulating messages to no purpose. Whenever Admiral Graves from his cabin in the flagship gazed seaward on Boston Bay, he might see the innumerable townships that lie on the great curving shore from Cape Cod to Gloucester; and perhaps reflected it was a hopeless task to endeavour to blockade all these countless hornets' nests. For the whole sea was swarming with men whose traditions from 1620, whether as fishermen or smugglers, or sharers in piratical exploits, had rendered them masters of the craft of those waters; men who knew every shoal and every sounding, and were exasperated because of the veto imposed by Parliament on all trade into Massachusetts Bay. Consequently, some weeks before the storming of Bunker Hill, the men of Marblehead, of Salem, of Plymouth, had declared war on their own account. They had attacked and captured one King's ship, after killing the commander, and had seized another, and were now pushing forward with haste the building

[1] The going away of the Rhode Island and Connecticut men was keenly resented. Sergeant Jonathan Burton of Wilton, N.H., reports: "The general takes this opertunity of returning his most sincere and herty thanks to the gentlemen, officers, and solders, who have with so much speed and alacricy come to Joyn the Army and prevent our Ennemy taking the advantage of the dastardly conduct of those Troops, whoo Basely Deserted the Lines."—*Diary and Orderly Book of Sergeant Jonathan Burton*, serving on Winter Hill, Boston, 1775-1776, p. 6.

of a bigger and faster kind of vessel to serve as privateering cruiser. Washington made himself provisional admiral of a fleet of six ships flying the Massachusetts flag. Congress on this precedent, issued letters of marque to these vessels, which being capably led did much mischief. Among the heroes of the time the name of John Manly stands out in high relief. To him surrendered the first British prize. To him is accredited the hoisting of the first Continental flag.

He captured, in November, at the entrance to the Bay, an English vessel laden with military stores for the army in Boston, and brought his prize in safety to Cape Ann, where she landed thousands of muskets and much ammunition to the great joy of the Patriots.[1] But how a schooner of eight guns, with a brigantine in tow or convoy, managed to get all this transacted while a British squadron was cruising about or on guard in those same waters defeats conjecture. A raid of privateer vessels descended southward on Bermuda, where the inhabitants, unaware of the state of war on the American continent, and in any case unable to offer armed resistance, were compelled to surrender all their military stores, comprising a fine stock of powder, which reached Washington at Cambridge.

Recall of Gage, Oct. 1775.

Meanwhile General Gage was recalled by the Ministry to London to give some account of himself, Major-General Howe being left as acting Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Gage's rule of Boston, for he had no recognised authority outside that town, had been of the gentlest. He allowed Patriots to remove from the town their furniture and effects, but checked the removal of merchandise, arms, and food. These reasonable precautions were characterised by Patriots as barbarous outrages. Food in a beleaguered town is

[1] Manly's vessel the *Lee*, captured the British brig the *Nancy*, an ordnance store ship. The stores on board were much required and valuable too. The Board of Ordnance in London was censured for entrusting so much material of importance to a vessel of no particular strength. Washington's first commission was issued to Mr. Broughton of Marblehead.

of all things most precious. It was absurd to suppose that the Governor would consent to the withdrawal of provisions. The starvation of Boston was the policy, not only of the Commander-in-Chief at Cambridge, but of every Committee of Safety for miles around. The Committees of Safety had adopted starvation tactics before the port of Boston was closed.

"Mr. Harris," writes H. Prentiss in May, "is very un- 1775.
easy. The people from the men-of-war frequently go to the Island to buy fresh provisions; his own safety obliges him to sell to them. On the other hand, the Committee of Safety have threatened that if he sells anything to the Army and Navy they will take all his cattle from the Island, and our folk tell him they shall handle him very ruffly."[1]

Under these circumstances Gage had shown himself a lenient Governor, who had done his best to soften the rudeness of harsh conditions of life. He left the city somewhat hurriedly. The Patriots hailed his departure with jeers. They commended him to the Crown for a peerage as Baron Lexington of Bunker Hill.

Shortly after his removal Admiral Samuel Graves was recalled after a brief term of office. On arriving in the *Preston*, his flagship, he took charge of eighteen sail 1774.
of all rates, a number quite inadequate to the requirements of the local warfare.

"When Admiral Graves," says Beatson, "was under a necessity of recalling some of his cruisers, the better to block the Port of Boston in terms of the Act, the Americans availed themselves of the weakness of the squadron, and procured supplies to an astonishing degree."[2]

[1] H. Prentiss to Oliver Wendell. Mr. Prentiss appears to have been a grocer, agitated as to whether he is going to realise on a large stock of candles offered at 1s. 8d. a lb. As to arms, many hundreds of pistols and thousands of muskets and blunderbusses were surrendered to the town major.

[2] Beatson, iv. 47. Dr. Beatson's somewhat cumbrous compilations of the warlike expeditionary forces of those days is still a good standby for those curious about names, guns, weight of metal of the ships, *e.g.* in American waters in 1774-1783. Lord Richard Howe's

Probably, by way of reprisals, Graves authorised the destruction of all the little coastwise towns: Gloucester, Beverly, Marblehead, Salem, Newbury Port, Ipswich, and Machias, beginning with Falmouth, now called Portland. He despatched thither the sloop *Spitfire*, the schooner *Halifax*, the ship *Canceaux*, with the transport *Symmetry*, and one or two other vessels.

1775. "At nine A.M., 18th October," writes the Rev. Thomas Smith, "they began, and continued until dark with their mortars and cannon, when, with marines landing, they burnt all the lower part of the town, and up as far as Mr. Bradbury's."

Mr. Smith's house, with all its contents, was burnt, as was also his son Thomas's shop and stores.[1]

The destruction of the other little towns could have been carried out, but milder counsels prevailed. Graves, according to Dr. Deane, had been persuaded with much difficulty by Captain Mowatt to authorise this act of war, and was loath to proceed further with the burning of undefended towns. Yet he might have done worse than burn the ships and docks at Marblehead and Salem, of which the latter town claims to have sent out 150 privateers.[2] Admiral Shuldham succeeded Graves at the end of December, bringing with him still more ships, but there was no increase of activity.

The commanders seem to have been crippled for want of supplies and stores, as incessant mishaps attended the vessels despatched from home to the succour of the troops in New England. Storms and adverse winds either made store ships founder, or blew them to the southward, or delayed them so long that their cargoes

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fleet in 1776, on paper, is enormous. There were 280 sail of all sorts, inclusive of 79 sail of the line.

[1] *Journal* of Rev. Thomas Smith, 18th October 1775, fol. 3. A plan showing the extent of the destruction of Falmouth is given in Deane's *Journal* for same date. Graves was censured for his vigorous policy by the Ministry.

[2] Burgoyne imputes Admiral Graves' abandonment of the plan to "Quaker-like scruples." His indictment of Graves in a letter to Lord George Germaine is severe. (Burgoyne to Germaine, 20th August 1775.)

were hopelessly damaged. At the same time every harbour from the Delaware northward had sent out rovers of all sorts and sizes to pick up anything bound for Canada or America. Very little material arrived at the Long Wharf of Boston.

Both Howe and Washington came in for sharp criticism for an inaction presumed to be voluntary. The latter was accused of prolonging operations in order to maintain and enhance his own importance.[1] In vain was it pointed out that he had no powder nor guns, and that the winter was both mild and wet, so that the Mystic and the Charles remained open waters, instead of being sealed up, solid pavements of ice. On the other hand, Howe's army was decimated with small-pox and scurvy; the ill-equipped hospitals were full to overflowing; the streets were never without armless or legless men, maimed survivors of Bunker Hill. Happily the winter was mild; the worst rigours of that rigorous climate had not to be faced, but what remained of hardship and privation was sufficiently exasperating. Discipline was maintained with an iron hand. Sir William Howe's Order Book[2] witnesses to the prodigious punishments exacted for comparatively light offences. There were many disorderly women, some married, some not, whose influence appears to have been very bad. These creatures came in for floggings and imprisonment like the men. Summary execution by hanging was done upon a man if caught tearing down a fence or a window frame for fuel. Nothing is more interesting in its way than the peevish and childish complaints of the contemporary American journals and letters about the damage done in Boston during the British occupation, complaints that have been carelessly or purposely repeated in later works.[3] Food stuffs, which earlier in the year had been

[1] Marshall, *Life of Washington*, ii. 335.

[2] Edited by Dr. Everett Hale, London (Stevens & Co.).

[3] Mr. Frothingham (p. 281), however, does justice to Sir William Howe's disposition and policy.

ample enough to permit the *Rochford* being freighted with provisions sufficient to maintain for some weeks
December 1775. some Patriot refugees, passengers to Salem, now ran short. Men began, in that city of distilleries, to go without their quota of rum. There being, however, stores of molasses in the town, the deficiency was soon made good. Other stocks gave out; prices rose to famine rates. The customary ration of salt pork and peas did not fail, but fresh foods and green stuff could not be had. To make a set-off against these gloomy influences Burgoyne suggested using the Old South as a kind of club, with a canteen and other provisions for diversion. To provide fuel it was ordered that the Old North Chapel, the Liberty Tree, the wooden shanties on the wharves, and the blackened remains of the Charlestown fire should be used up as fuel.

The treatment of the Old South in this somewhat harmless way aroused keen exasperation. That Patriots in the course of this struggle put Episcopal churches to all kinds of uses, ignoble as well as justifiable; that Puritans in England were guilty of dreadful outrages on such fanes as Exeter, Wells, Ely, and Westminster; that in the Second Civil War in America every kind of religious building all over the affected area was turned into stable, canteen, barrack-room, hospital, or store-house, as considered requisite, did not prevent Boston in 1867,[1] ninety years after the event, from fixing a libel on the British troops, high up on the wall of this building, which is now turned into a kind of incoherent and ill-kept Museum. To maintain the spirits of the garrison, and to raise a little money for the sick, wounded, and poor, a theatrical performance was given in Faneuil Hall, for which Burgoyne wrote the prologue.[2] But depression and poor nourishment killed off the weakly like flies. Every day during
1775. the winter after Christmas there were fifteen to twenty

[1] Drake (*Landmarks of Boston*, p. 228): "The inscription was strongly objected to by many at the time the tablet was fixed up."

[2] The play-bill in full is reproduced in Winsor, vi. 138.

funerals; and, not to depress the spirits or augment the fear of the sick and wounded, orders were given to discontinue the tolling of bells either at time of death or burial.

But the time of the evacuation of Boston was approaching. Washington, in the following March, 1776. having more cannon and ammunition, seized Dorchester Heights.[1]

Burgoyne had already pointed out the value of these heights for aggressive purposes, but Washington for months had been unable either to prevent their occupation by the British or to occupy them himself; yet when it was seen the heights were in possession of the Patriots, Howe immediately laid plans for a flank and frontal assault. A violent storm with rain not only delayed this movement but rendered it impossible, for the wind both prevented the passage of Howe's troops across the mouth of the Charles River, and the continued wet weather, in making muskets useless, improved the working value of the spade, of which during the storm the Americans made active use. The British General now hurried on plans for the evacuation of the town, which indeed had been for some time secretly determined, as neither the town nor the harbour was tenable under shell fire from the American redoubts.

An agreement was therefore made between the Town Council of Boston and Howe that if allowed to withdraw his troops without molestation he would do no harm to the town. On the 17th of March the 1776. investment of Boston ceased, and with the departure of the Royal army the town of Boston passes out of

[1] The cannon were the spoils of Ethan Allen by his enterprise at Ticonderoga. The pieces had been brought over to Cambridge by Captain Henry Knox, after vast toil and in face of great obstacles, in February 1776. As Washington had been, by the capture of the *Nancy* brig, fairly well furnished with powder and other munitions of war, he was, for a short time at least, in a position to bombard the town. Congress had invited him to do so, even at the cost of the destruction of Boston.

the record of warlike operations, having, indeed, paid her full reckoning of penalties in connection with this unhappy struggle.

A town which, early in 1773, contained 20,000 souls could not muster 10,000 in March 1776. Charlestown was in ashes, and most of the leading citizens were either in exile or political refugees. Of the old Boston families the greater number were loyal to the Crown of England and departed with General Howe. By later enactments their property was confiscated to the public treasury, and their return to their homes forbidden. The residents of Boston saw no more of the red-coats until the convention with Burgoyne two years later, when the surrendered British troops were quartered here after the disaster of Saratoga.

It is well known that Massachusetts men played a strong and leading part in the war-drama, for at least one-fourth of the Continental army was recruited from New England soil. But, being a town of no strategic value, the conflict Boston promoted and maintained in these early months of contention, never again reached her gates. Her material loss, however, was comparatively insignificant. Her real loss consisted in the expulsion of families which, by tradition and temperament, maintained the solid refinements and graces of the older society.

Boston had become the city of refuge for all New England Loyalists still active in the support of the Royal cause. They organised themselves under the patronage of Gage into military companies, and, as mentioned above, were called the Royal Irish, and the Loyal Americans, and the Royal Fencibles; their chief duty was to police the town and keep the streets clean. They contributed somewhat to the social gaiety, being always sustained by the belief that Britain must be ultimately victorious.

Evacuation of Boston.

When the evacuation came, all these people at one stroke were ruined. Huddled on board little vessels, sloops, and doreys, anythingt hat would float, however

crazy, they set off for Halifax, a destination that lay on the other side of water that was among the most storm-tormented in the world. In the keen and bitter month of March, with the approach of weather under 1776. the stress of which it was expected that most of these little boats would founder, the voyage began. Happily there were no losses to add to the previous misfortunes of these people of many calamities. Chilly Halifax behaved to her visitors with unwonted clemency, for the spring had set in early with unusual mildness.[1] About two thousand souls, comprised in about one hundred and thirty-two families, are computed to have become refugees. Men called and likened these movements to the going forth of Abraham. Mrs. John Adams saw the fleet of one hundred and seventy sail, under the convoy of three men-of-war, moving out of the Bay. Boston still celebrates with effusion of blood the anniversary of Bunker Hill. In 1906 the casualties, taking into account only June 17. serious accidents, such as total or partial loss of sight, are reported to have been three hundred.

I have been unable anywhere to find an authorised computation of the total American losses during this War, but figures suggest that during the last thirty years America must have sacrificed as many lives in celebrating her Independence as she gave in the whole course of the struggle to secure it.[2] To this national annual sacrifice of men, women, and children Boston adds her own revels; it reckons well within the mark to say that the total number

[1] The winter of 1775-1776 had been very hard. "The meat was cut with a cross-cut saw, and the fish froze in the water," says Captain B. James; cf. his *Diary*, p. 25, in *Naval Record Society's Transactions*, vi.

[2] The loss of life on Independence Day in recent years has varied from 466 (1903) to 158 (1906), and of severely wounded from 3983 (1903) to 5308 (1906). Minor injuries are not taken into account.—Herbert W. Horswill, in *Nineteenth Century and After*, July, 1907, and Maurice H. Low, in *National Review*, August, 1907. In 1909 the casualties are reported as having been the lowest on record.

of killed and wounded at Bunker Hill has been exceeded ten times over in the total of the wounded and killed of this annual holiday. The propriety of Americans still taking vengeance on their own people in the twentieth century for their victories over British forces in the eighteenth is not open to foreign criticism.

In November 1775 Burgoyne was allowed by Lord Dartmouth to return to England. Being the junior of the three Generals, and there being really nothing for him to do, he appears to have spent most of his time in writing to his friends or superiors in England letters of portentous length and of laboured composition, chiefly reflecting unfavourably upon the course of events, the state of the army, the conduct of the war, or the capacity of his commanding officer. He writes in September 1775 in this strain :

> Our present situation is a consummation of inertness and disgrace. You will be told we are on the point of removing the blockade. I believe we are, and I doubt not the troops will recover their reputation. We have not a magazine of any sort, nor any provision or preparation whatever that can enable an army to advance twenty miles. I seek to blame nobody ; General Gage is entitled to my respect and esteem upon every principle that can commend a private character. He is amiable for his virtues, but he is not equal to his situation.

Here we notice his opinion that the situation is disgraceful. The army, notwithstanding its bravery at Bunker Hill, is discredited ; it is without supplies or means of carriage ; and General Gage is an amiable nonentity. It is the kind of letter a prudent man may, perhaps, write in a fit of the spleen, taking good care to throw it in the fire at the first opportunity. But Burgoyne appears to have suggested the substance of the infamous charge made by Barré in the House of Commons, that Englishmen at Bunker Hill showed the white feather because of this disapproval of the politics of the Ministry.[1] Burgoyne's

[1] Burgoyne, *E. B. de Fonblanque*, 1876, p. 158. Burgoyne had, in a letter to Lord Rochford, alleged cowardice on the part

departure from Boston in November doubtless deprived society of a gay companion, but made no difference whatever to the military situation.

In December 1775, or January 1776, Sir Henry Clinton left Boston for New York to take command of a little expeditionary force of about 2000 men intended to make a diversion in the south country in the Carolinas, but destined to fail. He brought no troops away with him from Boston; the circumstances of the place and of the army allowed of no withdrawal of force,[1] consequently Howe was alone. Gage had been recalled; Burgoyne was on leave; Clinton had gone to the South; Abercrombie and Pitcairn were dead; Earl Percy was estranged. Thus isolated, the Commander-in-Chief had recourse to other society and gentler solaces amidst war's alarms. Mrs. Loring accompanied her General to Halifax, and during the next two years rarely left his side.[2] Mr. Joshua Loring accompanied his spouse, he was a kind of purser to the army, with much opportunity for the pursuit of what the Americans call "graft." The spring of 1776 saw the British forces "resting" in Halifax.

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of the British troops. In the House of Commons Burgoyne qualified the harshness of this charge. The notion that the troops wavered a good deal had got about in London.

[1] Cf. Fortescue, iii. 180, note: "Mr. Fiske and Sir George Trevelyan, misled by the fact that Clinton came from Boston to command, say that this force was brought from Boston, add to it six imaginary battalions from England, and then having doubled Clinton's strength, found on this fictitious basis a necessarily unstable superstructure of criticism." S. G. Fisher, however, repeats the statement that Clinton took away with him forces from Boston. Justin Winsor, vi. 153, says Clinton was sent off from Boston with several regiments. The line of misstatement is easy to pursue. Jones, *History of New York*, i. 97, mentions that only a few troops left Boston with Clinton.

[2] Cf. *The Battle of the Kegs* (Hopkinson, 1777); Hart (1906), ii. 563; Jones, N.Y., ii. 423. The Lorings were of a good Boston family.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

REPORT by Major-General The Hon. WM. HOWE, Esq., to Lieut.-General The Hon. THOMAS GAGE, Esq., Governor of Massachusetts.

CAMP UPON THE HEIGHTS OF CHARLESTOWN,
*June 21st*, 1775.

SIR—The troops and artillery ordered by you for the attack of the rebels upon the West Heights on the 17th inst. being landed without opposition, were formed upon the rising ground near the beach in three lines, the extent of ground not admitting of its being done in less for the first position.

The ten light companies were upon the right, and the ten companies of grenadiers upon their left. The detachments from the 5th and 38th battalions were in the rear of these two companies, and the 43rd and 52nd detachments made the third line. I beg leave to observe in this place that the landing without opposition must be attributed to the attention and conduct of the naval officers commanding the ships of war, armed vessels, and floating battery boats, which were stationed for that service; the rebels being kept close within their works by the judicious management of the guns of these ships and vessels. On the first view of the rebels upon the Heights, it was clearly perceived they were in force and strongly posted with cannon. The redoubts upon their right (which they had thrown up in the night of the 16th, as other works in the front of their line), being full of men with two pieces of cannon, and a large body of troops posted in the houses of Charlestown upon their right flank. Their centre and left being covered by a breastwork (being part of it cannon proof) reaching from the left of the redoubt to the Mystick. The space between the rebel army divisions being about 500 yards. From this appearance of strength as well as from the heavy columns of troops which were seen pouring in to their assistance, the application was made to you which you were pleased to comply with, by instantly sending over the companies of Light infantry and Grenadiers that had been left in camp with the 47th Battalion and 1st Marines.

With these troops formed in two lines, Brigadier-General Pigott being upon the left, the attack began by a sharp cannonade from our field-pieces and Howitzers, the Lines

advancing slowly and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light Infantry upon the right were directed to keep along the beach, and to form on the left point of the rebels' breastwork, and then to take their Line in flank, the grenadiers being directed to attack it in front, supported by the 5th and 52nd. These orders were executed with great perseverance, the rebels keeping up a heavy fire by their great superiority of numbers as soon as the Line came within distance of their shot. Between the rebels' line and ours (throughout the whole front) there were very high and strong fences of posts and railing, which were parallel to the enemy's works; these fences greatly impeded the attacks by the difficulty of passing them in a very hot fire, and prevented the troops rushing on with their bayonets, which would soon have decided the victory in favour of the King's troops with little loss.

Upon the Left, the same obstruction was in the way of Brigadier-General Pigott, and his Left being engaged with the rebel forces in the town, he would have been under the necessity of driving them back and setting fire to the town before he could have advanced to assail the redoubt; but in this critical moment the town was set on fire by a carcass from the Cop's Hill Battery, and he pursued his point by carrying the redoubt though it was obstinately defended to the last instant. Upon the success of either of these attacks the defeat of the rebels depended; but the troops after succeeding in both were too much harassed and fatigued to give much attention to the pursuit of the rebels in their precipitate retreat.

I cannot presume to say what the loss of the rebels may have been, but am well assured it has been considerable from their having carried off great numbers during the time of the action, exclusive of what they suffered from the ships and batteries before it began. There has been near one hundred buried upon the field, and 30 left wounded on the field. Five of their cannon are in our possession, and their numbers have been computed to have been between five and six thousand. I do not trouble you with a repetition of the loss sustained by the King's troops, your orderly having given you that information. In justice to Brigadier-General Pigott, it is my duty to inform you that the success of the day must in great measure be attributed to his firmness and gallantry, and you will allow me to add that the Valour of the British officers was at no time more conspicuous than in the action; nor were the soldiers the least dismayed upon seeing the great superiority of numbers opposed to them; on the contrary, they were ardent in their wishes to get at them with their bayonets.

In a word, Sir, the gallantry and conduct of the officers, as well as the bravery of the soldiers, deserve the highest praise. But I must not close this report which I have the honour of making to you without acquainting you with the laudable proceeding of Major-General Clinton, who came a Volunteer into the action, and spirited on the troops in the noblest manner when they were much harassed and fatigued by the duty of the day.—I have the honour of being, Sir, your most faithful and obedient Servant, W. HOWE.

*P.S.*—The 63rd battalion 2nd marines could not get to the field in time to have their share of the success though they marched with the utmost haste as soon as they were landed.[1]

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[1] From the *Firle Papers*, Howe to Gage, June 21st, 1775.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE *FIRLE PAPERS*.[1]

(1) Earl of Dartmouth to Hon. Lieut.-General Gage, Governor of Massachusetts Bay and Commander-in-Chief in America, Whitehall, August 2nd, 1775. Cf. also *Dartmouth Papers*, vol. ii., *American*, p. 345. This letter arrived in America about the 13th of September 1775, at the same time as the Commission to Major-General Howe to act as Commander-in-Chief of the Colonies on the Atlantic Ocean during General Gage's absence in England.

(2) Major-General Burgoyne to Hon. Lieut.-General Thomas Gage.

(*a*) A letter dated Boston, August 13th, 1775, together with

(*b*) Thoughts upon evacuating Boston, and possessing New York for the winter quarters of the army.

(3) Major-General Clinton's proposals for operations, dated Boston, 26th August 1775.

(4) Major-General Clinton to the Earl of Dartmouth in reply to enquiries from Whitehall. Dated Camp, Charlestown, October 8th, 1775.

These letters shew that the officers in command were fully alive to the difficulties of the position, but were powerless to carry out plans as recommended.

Lieut.-General Gage's recall is dated Whitehall, 2nd August 1776.

### Extract from Despatch from the Earl of Dartmouth to General Gage.

*August 2nd*, 1775.

I have already said, in my letter No. 22 of this date, that in the general view we have of the state of the army at Boston, and of the force of the rebels, it does not seem likely that any further operations, at least of any extent, be undertaken this campaign.

The state of the service, therefore, as it stands at present seems to involve in the consideration of it these questions, viz.:

1st. Whether we could push the Wars with our whole Force in the next campaign on the side of New England,

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[1] From the papers relative to the siege of Boston in 1775, now in the possession of Viscount Gage at Firle Place, Lewes, Sussex, and now referred to as the *Firle Papers*.

Dartmouth to Gage, August 2, 1775.

2nd. Whether viewing the whole state of America it would not be more advisable to make Hudson's River the seat of War, and for that purpose immediately take possession of the City of New York with a part of our force, leaving at Boston what is necessary to secure that Post and keep up a diversion on that side.

3rd. Whether if it should be judged unsafe or unadvisable to take post at New York, it may not be expedient to endeavour with a part of the Force under your command embarked on board the transports, to make an impression in other places, which if it answered no other purpose would at least enable you to collect a large supply of live stock and provisions, which is no trifling object in your present circumstances.

And lastly. Whether if neither of the measures suggested in the two last propositions can be effected, and if even Boston should not be tenable in the winter without hazard (as many here think), it might not be advisable that your whole army should be posted in proper divisions at Halifax and Quebec until the event of the winter shall point out the best plan of operation in the Spring.

I beg I may not be understood, in stating these or any other ideas that have occurred, to intimate that the King does not leave it entirely to his generals to act according to their own judgment and discretion, and, therefore, I have only to add that if we are driven to the difficulty of relinquishing Boston, care must be taken that the Officers and friends of Government be not left exposed to the rage and insults of rebels who set no bounds to their barbarity; and when I mention this circumstance I must not omit to inform you that His Majesty is graciously pleased, upon a representation made to him of the distress to which many of the members of your present Council are exposed, to direct that you do from time to time give them such relief and make them such allowance as you shall judge necessary, and include the Expense in your contingent accounts.

If the proposition of taking post at New York is adopted, then General Howe assisted by General Burgoyne will, it is presumed, command on that side, in which case it is His Majesty's Intentions that General Clinton should command on the side of New England, and I have only to add that whatever disposition is made of the army under your command in consequence of what has been suggested, it will be absolutely necessary that effectual care be taken for the protection of Halifax, which, being the great Repository of all our Naval Stores, is an object of the last importance.—I am, Sir, etc., etc.,

DARTMOUTH.

LETTER from MAJOR-GENERAL BURGOYNE to LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS GAGE.

BOSTON, *August 13th*, 1775.

The position of the enemy near Boston, and their supposed numbers compared, it is not to be expected they can be dislodged without considerable loss.

The effects of the Blockade would not be removed by success, because the King's army being unprovided with bread, waggons, bat-horses, sufficient artillery horses, and many other requisite articles, and being too weak in numbers to afford posts of communication, it would be impossible to take in a scope of country after a victory sufficient to force supplies or to protect the well affected.

No probability is foreseen of any such alteration in these circumstances as will make it more advisable than at present to attack the adjacent posts, other means must be therefore thought of to give effect to His Majesty's Arms.

*Thoughts upon evacuating Boston and possessing New York for the Winter Quarters of the Army.*

Supposing only one of these two places can be maintained during the winter, which seems to be the opinion of the most respectable judges, New York will be found to have the preference in every consideration political and military.

1st. There is reason to believe many friends to the cause of Britain yet remain in that province.

2nd. The regular course of the King's Government might be restored, and the friends of it protected at least in the precincts of the city.

3rd. Many circumstances of situation render it much more easy for friends or deserters to come in at New York than at Boston.

4th. The Army would be less harassed in providing for its defence during the winter.

5th. Better situated for supply from the sea, and many articles would doubtless be furnished when under protection from Long Island and other adjacent Islands.

6th. Should measures be taken at home for carrying on the war with vigour, no place can be so proper for assembling troops, because it is the obvious point for opening offensive operations next spring.

7th. It is equally desirable for the establishment of great magazines, because it is central and at the mouth of a great

Burgoyne to Gage, August 13, 1775.

navigable river for transporting all the bulky necessaries of an army in the progress of the Campaign.

8th. The possession of that river would render the junction and even common intercourse of the Northern and Southern Colonies extremely difficult, keep the latter in awe, open communication with Canada, and consequently, lend very materially to the speedy reduction of New England.

It appears that His Excellency and the three Major-Generals are unanimous upon the principle of this plan, but many difficulties will occur in considering the execution of it.

The quantity of shipping necessary to transport the effective army alone would be considerable. The hospital would necessarily take up many of the largest and most airy transports. Many more would be required for the removal of the whole stores of army and navy, ammunition, artillery, forage, and provision of every kind.

To these must be added all the inhabitants who may claim the protection of Government, many of whom are gentlemen's families with a numerous train of women, children, and servants, together with all the merchandise, computed at the value of three hundred thousand pounds, and which it is conceived ought on no account be left to the enemy.

All these persons and articles combined would make the fleet immense—not an armament but a colony afloat—and that too at an advanced season of the year (for so it must be before the preparations could be made, and still later if an answer to the plan must be awaited for from England), and not a single friendly port to take shelter in case of tempestuous weather; a return to Boston would be impracticable.

The natural retardment of so great a fleet sailing together even in favourable weather, and the embarrassment of so much lumber in military operation, should such be necessary to secure a landing, need hardly be mentioned.

Most of these difficulties seem to be acknowledged by all the Generals, tho' not so preponderate against the advantages first stated.

It is probable upon the whole that the Commander-in-Chief will not think proper to take a step of so great a consequence without the sanction of His Majesty's orders, which though His Excellency has mentioned the general idea of the plan in former Despatches, can hardly be expected sooner than the middle of October.

To prevent any delay at so late a season General Howe has proposed to begin the preparations forthwith, under the inspection and sole direction of Brigadier Grant, whose talents and

secrecy may be depended upon, and it is meant in order to keep the original design from transpiring, to lead the attention both of the enemy and our own army to some other object.

To further these principal and many secondary purposes, General Burgoyne humbly submits to His Excellency's judgment the project of a previous expedition.

The object of it is to secure an intermediate post, and the advantages attending such a one would obviate most of the difficulties mentioned above.

1st. It would be a point of rendezvous in case of dispersion of the great fleet, which otherwise might be the utter ruin of the King's affairs in America.

2nd. It would be a repository for all the lumber of the army, families, baggage, stores, etc., till your ground is made good at New York, and might serve as a winter quarter in case the attempt failed.

3rd. It would divide a very good embarkation into two parts, and consequently facilitate it.

4th. It would, at the same time, cover the design upon New York. Many contrivances might be used to make it appear the ultimate object of the year.

5th. Should the Counsels in England not adopt the design upon New York, the expedition would at least give reputation and spirit to the latter end of the campaign if it succeeded, and it is hoped could not be attended with great loss if it failed.

Should this reasoning appear favourable to the expedition the next consideration will be the number of which it ought to consist. It is to be expected that by the time the expedition shall be ready for sea the effectives of the army, rank and file, will amount to 6000, exclusive of artillery.

That the convalescent and men unfit for the ranks would be sufficient to take care of the hospitals, without encroaching upon the above numbers.

It is likewise presumed that 4000 men, with a due proportion of artillery and of the fleet, would be fully sufficient for the defence of Boston and Charlestown heights.

There would remain 2000 men for the expedition, in which should be included great part of the cavalry, and it is proposed to hand over and above a strong brigade of artillery with their horses, and as many ships of war as can possibly be spared. Should the number, according to this calculation, fall short, the expedition must sail with less numbers and be more bounded and more cautious in their attempts.

The expedition at sea, the first probable effect would be the dismemberment of the Massachusetts army. A natural

impatience in an army so composed would arise to defend their own homes, which they would consider as equally exposed. In this case the expedition might be reinforced.

It is proposed to try the temper and strength of the coast to the southward, without committing the troops to its action till they arrived at Rhode Island, which is the main object. The troops being secured in an entrenched camp, the transports might return to assist the great embarkation.

Should the main army winter at Boston, part of the expedition might be drawn back. It is supposed that twelve hundred men, with a proper proportion of artillery and assisted with armed vessels, would hold Rhode Island.

J. BURGOYNE.

This course was not pursued.

MAJOR-GENERAL CLINTON to the EARL OF DARTMOUTH, in reply to Enquiries from WHITEHALL. 1st Despatch.

BOSTON, *August 26th*, 1775.

If any information can be obtained to encourage us, a cannonade and bombardment on the rebels' intrinchments between the Mystick and Charles River is with deference advised, and a plan is offered for the purpose, but Major-General Howe, on the spot, must have one to offer, but as it is a matter of doubt whether any solid advantage can be the consequence of an attempt on these parts, and that New York, on the contrary, opens the probability of every advantage, it is advised at least to prepare for that place, who's situation, politically and geographically, recommends it. In the first place, a landing on one side or other of the Island cannot be prevented, as men-of-war of any draft may approach near enough on either side to cover it. 2nd. That the navigation of Hudson's River will, or may be yours; that by a winter expedition, if the secret is kept, all their force, all their vessels on Lakes George and Champlain may be destroyed, and you established early in the Spring; that your communications will then be open with the Indians and Canada, and in this situation you break those of the Rebels between the South and North Colonies, you give fair opportunity to the only province in which you are supposed to have friends to declare themselves; that Long and Staten Islands will, in general, declare for you, and from them you will be amply supplied; that your ships may winter in safety, and will have at all times of the year a free communication with the sea; that the run to Capes De la

War, Charles, and Henry on one side, Nantucket and Cape Sable on the other, are short, and all the posts within that distance easily masked by a few frigates; that the Hook is central, and a good road for any number of them to start from at a moment's warning. Clinton to Dartmouth, August 26, 1775.

That prior to all this, the hospital and those of the inhabitants who choose it may be removed to Halifax, the transports carrying them to return in time for the expedition, which must not be deferred beyond October, if what is very unlikely to happen, we should be beat off New York the South is open to us. The Bay of Campeachy is a good Road for the Ships, and the navigable rivers of Potomack, Rappahanock, etc., on the banks of which there are rich settlements; will either suit the Troops for winter quarters or campaign, and our friends of North Carolina may from thence be armed, and if not, join us and make a diversion in our favour. These are some of the advantages of our going to the southward; many others may be found. The disadvantages of our staying here, are, I fear, many and great. In the first place, we live on Victory, and let that be ever so complete, in the present temper of the Continent it does not lead to anything solid, distemper has already seized us, confinement, hard duty, and want of fresh provisions will increase that, and I fear we shall in the course of a long winter smoulder away to nothing and, ever so much reinforced in the spring, be unable to take any share in early part of next campaign. As a blind to a plan of this sort, a plausible mask may be found, sending the hospital to Halifax will help it, and the beginning to fortify a camp will have an appearance as of meaning to stay here, which, after all, if Government intends we should, may be done, our magazines secured in detached strong houses not exposed to fire, some of our troops hutted in Camp and others lodged in good, well-chosen barracks, small redoubts at the ends of those streets leading from South Wharfs, preparations made for wintering of transport and free moreings for the men-of-war will all help appearances, and if necessary be made use of.

H. CLINTON.

### SIR HENRY CLINTON to EARL OF DARTMOUTH, 2nd Despatch.

CAMP CHARLESTOWN,
*October 8th*, 1775.

SIR—Having had the honour to receive queries from you relative to the present war in America, in answer to the first

Clinton to Dartmouth, October 8, 1775.

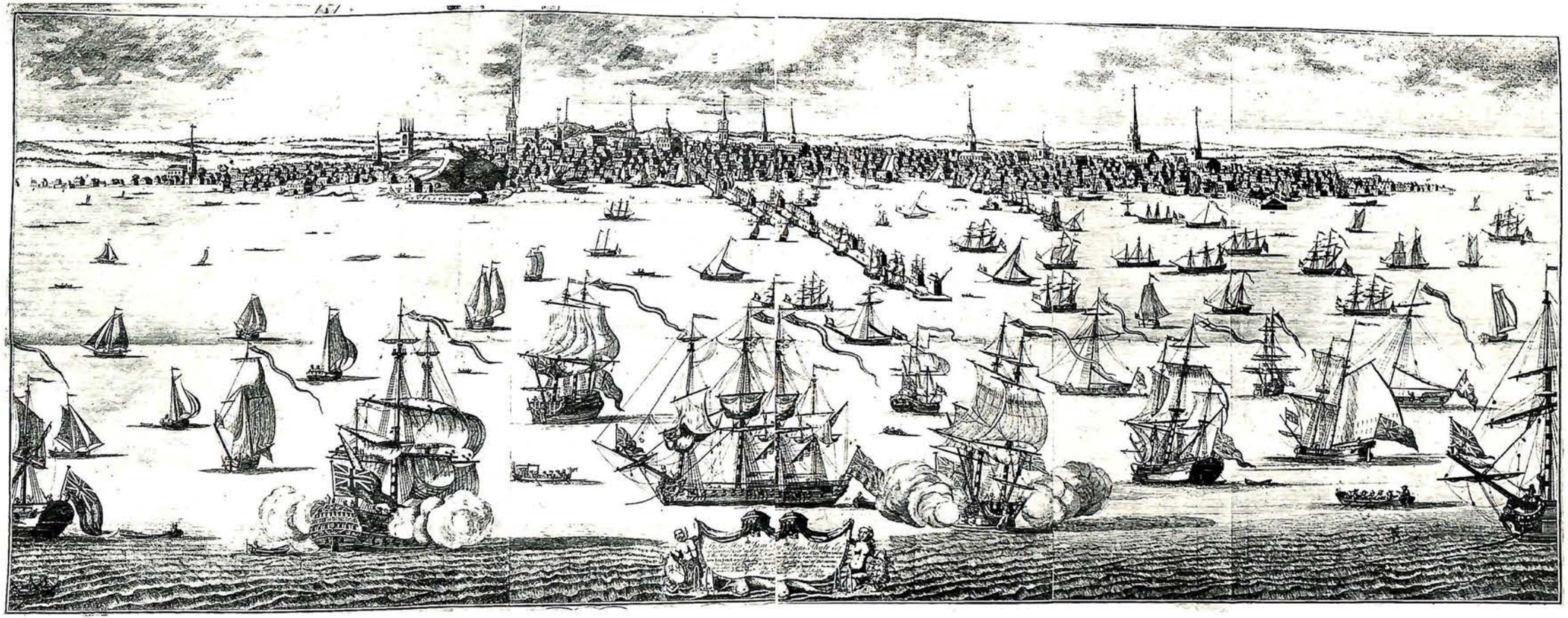
"Whether we should push the war with our whole army on the side of New England," I am of opinion, for reasons I believe obvious to us all, that the war ought not to be pushed with our whole army on the side of New England.

In answer to the 2nd, "Whether viewing the whole state of America it would not be advisable to make Hudson's River the seat of war, and for that purpose immediately take possession of the City of New York with a part of our forces, leaving at Boston what is necessary to secure that post and keep up the diversion on that side," I am of opinion that an army not less than 10,000 should establish themselves on the Hudson's River. I am likewise of opinion that another of at least 6000 men should be posted not at Boston, but Rhodes Island, where, or from whence it may operate more effectually than from Boston; with regard to taking immediately possession of the City of New York, it is much to be wished that could be done, but it seems doubtful whether the Reinforcements will arrive in time to make that practicable, and whether, when it does arrive, we shall be in sufficient force to hold both places in the manner the Government seems to wish.

In answer to the 3rd, "Whether if it should be judged unsafe or inadvisable to take post at New York, it may not be expedient to endeavour with a part of the force embarked on board the transport to make an impression in other places which, if it answers no other purpose, would at least enable you to collect a large supply of live stock," I am of opinion that expeditions commanded by proper officers might be of infinite use, it is much to be lamented that we have not hitherto been in force sufficient to carry on that sort of war, not less so that the season advances in which expeditions are attended with some risk, but for the purpose of getting live stock they may be employed at any time of the year, as they need not go far.

In answer to the 4th, "If neither of these measures suggested in the two last propositions can be effected, and if even Boston should not be tenable in the winter without hassard, it might not be advisable that the whole army should be posted in proper divisions at Halifax and Quebec until the event of the winter shall point out the best plan of operations in the spring," in my opinion there is no doubt but that Boston is tenable as well during the winter as the summer with the force there will be in it.—I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

H. CLINTON.



A South-east View of the Great Town of Boston in New England.
By William Price, 1739.

View of Boston, showing Long Wharf, 1739.
By William Price.

## An American Spy's Report of Blockade of Boston.

*September 24th*, 1775.

Sir,—No News from England as we can find. The fifteen hundred Men that you had news of going to Quebec are going to Halifax (I believe), to destroy that place, the Accot I sent you that our Army was Supplyed largely with powder is not so, instead of our peoples having Ninety Tons of powder from Philadelphia they did but Nine as I find by the Commessary and from New York Six for Sixty as is declared all over the Camp, but when it got down here it was no more than what I now write you, they have got some little, from different Quarters by some means but I am bould to say, not enough to stand a long Siege. We are made to believe that we are to have large Quantitys in a very short time, they have sent different ways, that I know, for powder and without every good look out they will get in [not legible here, query "difficulties"], You will think me an odd fellow to write one time no want of powder and at another not so great a plenty—but Sir, never was a people lead on blindfold and so imposed on as this people have been with respect to Arms and Amunition: I am not alone in this matter I heard Mr. Hancock Say the very day he came from Congress that we had more Powder on the Road coming to the Camp, than we could Expend in one twelve months, this was believed by all coming from Hancock. The Army begin to inquire for themselves, about these matters, and are not satisfied to find themselves so deceived in a matter of so much importance. but our Chiefs say, it is absolutely necessary, nay Justifiable for such reports when all is at Stake, and the Courage of the Soldiers must be kept up high by some means or other.

Little powder in Washington's Army.

A difficulty will soon cause one much greater than perhaps they are aware of at this time, tho' many of them (that is the Officers) begin to Quake what they will do in December, then the time is Expired for which they inlisted for, and the Soldiers are tired of the Camp, wish for home, many will come in their Stead I am sensible, but they will not so readily get another Army together as they have this.

The return that was made to the General of the Army last week was 22,540 Men.

The distroying the Ships in the manner I wrote you before they began to dispair of tho' the former of the Machine is full of faith that he can do it, Works on hardly and so let him, I say.

The information presumed to be sent direct from Province House. See above, p. 68.

It has not yet been in my power to find out the Officer that gives intelligence to this Camp, and you must think me much Mistaken, that there is no such Man, but I am as Certain you have such a person as I am of my Existance, when ever there is an opportunity some one that is well knowing how things are like to go Convay it to General Washington by some person that is coming out of town, there was a letter came out last Saterday in a private manner that was instantainusly sent of to the General, the intimations given by one of the Communitty concieved how, and from what Quarter it came, remember I now inform you of what you may know.

Great disturbences in the Camp of late with Mutinying, many Soldiers are now Confined in Guard for Mutiny.

A Quarrell happened between Col. Bruer and Col. Patterson, at length they got so high, that they ordered out both their Regiments to fire on Each other, but were Quelled by a third that was ordered to fire on them both in case they did not disperce which they did, but of all seens that ever happen'd not long since our people got a famous New large Standard, Got upon the Hill Doctor Leanard made amost Solem prayer over the Standard Gen[ll] Putnam pulled of his hat, gave the Signal for three Chears which was given, Cleargeman and all of us huzzard at once, than the Indeans gave the war hoop and to conclud, of went Cannon, Major, that was worth you seeing.

Condition of things after Bunker Hill.

They begin to try Colonels and Captains for bad behaviour at Bunkers Hill battle, three Colonels have been Cashired and several Captains for their Cowerdice—and could the Army in General have their will General Ward wou'd go for one, for he never so much as gave one Written order that day. If you will believe me Mr. Pidgeon the Commessary General then, now declairs that we had not one half lb: of powder left that night the bunker hill was taken and had you pursued, the Camp must have been broken up—this they Confess. An Express from Ticondiroga, says that they had been Ambushed but foursed their way through with the loss of 13 Men and they on their advancing forward found on the ground ten Indians dead, that the Army was within one Mile and a half of S[t] Johns, on which they sent a party of Men to Cut of the Communication between Montreal and the Fort.

This day a floating battery hid herself under Mr. Tempels Wharf, from Mistick bridge.

One hundred 50 flat bottom boats are ordered to be Compleated within 30 days they are building them as fast as they

can at Water town and Cambrige I see them every day, this you may depend on. And I am not a little Surprised to find them so Engaged in making these boats, for I know the people in general think it impossible ever to go into Boston, you in it. ——. I heard General Sullivan say at a Court of inquiry where I was that had they only powder Sufficient they would keep up a Continual fire on the town, and force you and your ships to go off, but says he what can we do without it, and that it was a happy thing that General Gage was not made acquainted with our matters.

The last Wéek you killed one Man Wounded another, so that he lost his Leg and broke another Man thigh on Plowed hill.

Our Assembly has been sitting 3 days they have been debating by what means they can keep the Coast Clear of tenders, but have not yet Concluded.

No News from the Congress some days things look as if our General intended to do something soon, than again I am strongly persuaded that nothing will be done, in fact war you out you could not satisfy yourself there is nothing that looks like matters Except these boats all in a hurry. I am very Certain it has been Concluded on in a Council of War as soon as ever they found Great Britain was determined to push Matters still farther, then they woud attack the Town, but then Sir this determenation was in Consiquence of the News that they had so large a Quantity of Powder close at hand, At present I am full as much persuaded there will be no more done this Season as that there will be, but Sir, this you may rely on I will give you the Earliest notice in my power by this ferry Man that comes over—that you must write me by him if you can trust him to deliver me a line privately which he can if he will.

The Vessells I mentioned that was fiting at Salem was to transport these Men to Kennibeck as I find since, I am not Certain they are gone to Halifax but it is thought and believed they are.

If I am to Continue in your Service Major be so good to send me out a little Cash, Charly the ferry Man if you can trust him may give it me—Slyly—by heavens Major I shou'd loose my life if it was known by these people.

I attempted some time ago to write you, over Chalsey ferry but the Committy woud not let me go down to the ferry ways so as to See Charls. After that I did not try but went to Newport and from thence wrote. I am forced to act with the greatest Caution in this Matter, but now Sir I think a way

is open by which I can let you know how matters go with us if you Requist it, If you do not, I am very much obliged to you for your kindness and friendship attested towards me & am Yrs &c. &c.

*N.B.*—The poor people that have got out of Boston some time are in great Want Good God what are we to do I know not.

Excuse my incorrect manner of writing for I am in a tremor.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF 1774—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

TURN we now to the famous Congress of 1774, the chief, as it is best known, of all the Revolutionary Assemblies.

After the burning of the *Gaspee* in 1772, and the gentle tolerance by the British Ministry of the unavoidable with regard to that affair, it appears as if the forward party in New England were brought to a standstill. The policy of frontal attacks and assaults on a feather-bed of huge dimensions presented few attractions for men anxious to engage in hostilities with the unnatural old parent across the ocean. The patriots had for eight years conducted matters pretty much to their own liking. They had reduced British laws and statute books to waste paper, had repudiated the authority of Parliament, and had grown weary of lampooning the King. It now seemed that no deed of treason, whether by misprision or by overt action, would arouse the Ministry to sharp reprisals. For Lord Dartmouth, who had but newly entered on his duties (14th August 1772) as American Secretary, was of a gentle temperament, and in any case powerless.

The Rev. William Gordon wrote him some ten months later a string of congratulations on his having escaped the difficulties that must have followed had a discovery been made of any one engaged in the affair of the *Gaspee*. Mr. Gordon says it would have "set the continent into a fresh flame" had the arrest of some

of the perpetrators led to their being taken to England for trial, as had been threatened. Happily no one had been identified in connection with that outrage. For the people of Providence had taken good care to suppress evidence against any gentleman engaged in the exploit.[1] The Governor of Rhode Island was so entirely on the side of the patriots in this business, that the King's instructions to him, directing him to investigate the circumstances on the murderous assault on Lieut. Duddington, found their way into the columns of the local papers before the Commission of Inquiry was opened. Thus forewarned, the offenders took necessary measures to render the King, Lord Dartmouth, and the Commission of Inquiry objects of ridicule.[2] The news of this triumphant deed of daring had the effect of inducing a sense of satiety among Patriots, and reaction ensued. The Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts, as well as that of New York, was actually under the sway of a Loyalist majority. Mr. Samuel Adams fell into a state of dejection. He began to think the great movement would simmer down and result in some unsatisfactory compromise. His kinsman John returned to his forensic duties, and intimated a desire to quit politics altogether. But materials for a fresh outbreak of patriotic enthusiasm soon discovered themselves. The Franklin letter controversy, the impeachment of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, the intimated intention of the Crown to see that Colonial Judges' salaries were sufficient, punctually paid, and not dependent upon popular caprice, with other measures and events noticed further on, worked on patriot feeling, like a low-flash oil on hot embers. The notion of holding a conference of all the Colonies by selected delegates from each, appears to have

[1] Gordon to Dartmouth, 16th June 1773

[2] Charles Dudley to Reeve, 19th January 1773. It appears that Aaron, a negro, furnished a list of five men concerned in the destruction of the *Gaspee* to Rear-Admiral Montague, but the information led to nothing; cf. Montague to Lord Hillsborough, 11th June 1772.

been expressed about the same time, in more places and by more men than one. Perhaps the mother idea belongs to Boston, but the larger scheme came from Virginia. For many years past Patriots had been accustomed to discuss politics over a pipe and a glass in their accustomed tavern. The "Bunch of Grapes" in King Street, Boston, is well known to have been a centre of discussion and gossip. From its hospitable doors the frolic known as the Boston Tea-Party emerged on that eventful December night in 1773. Every town in the American Dominion had its popular tavern, which served as a kind of club. From these particular private gatherings to a general conference was an obvious and not difficult step, but the mutual and irreconcilable jealousies of the past had checked Colonials from taking it. But now the idea sprang into material birth, like Athena from the brain of Zeus. Loyalists welcomed the suggestion. Every one who had any visible and stable means of support was glad to hear that the encroachments of the Radicals might be abated, if not stopped. The number of Loyalists was, in 1773, steadily augmented by this class of recruit. It now remained to choose delegates for Congress, and this was effected with some difficulty, for of the twelve Colonies represented in Congress, ten sent up men chosen in a hole-and-corner style. Only in New York and in South Carolina was there a free election. In other Colonies and districts members were chosen by small Caucuses, or, as in the case of Massachusetts, behind locked doors. Yet the irony of the situation is that, irregular, undemocratic, unconstitutional as the whole proceedings were, the choice of men was unimpeachable. The Congress included Cushing, the two Adamses, Deane, Duane, Jay, Philip Livingston, Galloway, Dickinson, Peyton Randolph, R. H. Lee, Washington, Patrick Henry, Harrison, Middleton, and Edward Rutledge. No better men could be had, search America as a Diogenes might. The Unionists welcomed the Conference, for, to use Jones' own words:

* All parties, denominations, and religions, apprehending at the time that the Colonies laboured under grievances which wanted redressing, to redress which and to form a perpetual, happy, and lasting alliance between Great Britain and America, it was hoped that the Congress would successfully address itself.

But, as the sequel demonstrated, Jones misapprehended the temper of his fellow-countrymen.

This Congress then, called together for the promotion of a peaceable policy with some redress of grievances, separated or adjourned, after despatching to the Court of St. James an ultimatum such as few members could expect to be welcomed in England, and drawing up a Declaration of Rights, an Address to the British people, and a Letter to the people of Canada. The Declaration of Rights contained a paragraph which could not be interpreted in any other sense than that of a demand for Independence. This master clause is given here somewhat abridged :

Clause 4.—That the foundation of English liberty and of all free governments is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council, and as the English Colonies are not represented, and cannot be properly represented, in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign; and that there shall be no idea whatever of any taxation for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

Dated October 14, 1774.

This Declaration of Rights remained in America; the Petition to the King was sent in duplicate to the care of Franklin, who applied for permission to present it. One copy is preserved in the Record Office; the other copy, it is said, among the Franklin papers in Washington. The famous fourth clause of the Declaration is stated to have been penned by John Adams himself. These documents being drawn up in support of the public policy of Congress, there remained the duty of putting out some product of legislative ingenuity for

His Excellency JOHN ADAMS.

From an Original Portrait in the Poſſeſſion of Edmund Jennings, Eſq

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domestic consumption. This product took shape as the well-known Articles of Association. Here was a compact under which merchants and others were bound neither to buy goods from Britain, nor to send any American goods to British markets. But this new shoe pinched the two Carolinas so shrewdly with respect to rice that the Congress was good enough to allow the unconditional export of rice—a traffic Congress had no power to prevent. New England accepted the boycott of British trade with exemplary submission. New England's chief staple was salt fish, exported to Portugal or Spain. The Articles included the repudiation of bills due to merchants of Bristol and Glasgow and London. Congress thus having sent a demand for the unconditional abrogation of eleven Acts of Parliament, inclusive of the Quebec Act, which had restored to French Canadians a considerable fraction of their system of jurisprudence and the establishment of Roman Catholic Christianity, and having accompanied this demand with a measure aimed at the commerce of Great Britain, dispersed to their homes.[1]

Articles of Association.

Delegate John Adams has left a charming and most amusing account of this Congress. He makes it a matter of complaint that everybody in it, except "Young Ned Rutledge" from South Carolina, is so clever.

> These great wits, these subtle critics, these refined geniuses, these learned lawyers, these wise statesmen, are so fond of showing their parts and powers as to make their consultations very tedious.

All the delegates, with some other gentlemen of Philadelphia, spent the last evening over their pipes and punch in the city tavern. It was an assemblage of cross purposes and of many illusions. It is very

[1] The parent idea of a Congress was imputed to John Jay, and was sent to Boston in May 1774 on behalf of and endorsed by a large committee of New York gentlemen, inclusive of many Loyalists. Jones says Jay was a strong Episcopalian, and almost adored the British Constitution, both in Church and State; cf. de Lancey's note in Jones' *New York*, i. 443.

difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the general sentiment of 1774 about Independence. If there were to be war, would it be a *civil war* for the redress of grievances, or a deliberate act of rebellion. R. H. Lee thought Great Britain would come to heel under the lash of the boycott. Dickinson was of opinion that the British Parliament had a clear right of control of all trade regulations. Gadsden retorted that power of regulating trade entails a right of legislative control, and a right of legislative control in one case admits the logical extension of the same right to all cases. Samuel Adams, however, had but one idea in life, the expulsion of the British, root and branch, from America. John Adams, who to his latest years regretted that matters could not have been restored to the conditions of 1763, seems to have anticipated an appeal to arms. The silent Washington may have had the same idea at the back of his mind, but expressed himself positively that no Province desired Independence. Galloway, who had been speaker of the house of delegates of Pennsylvania, was loyal to the British connection, and had introduced to this Congress a scheme for union with Great Britain on a revised basis which was lost only by one vote. Galloway claimed that the majority of the delegates were supporters of his propositions; but as the Congress voted by territorial divisions, and not by heads, his plan was defeated by New England. Congress afterwards ordered Galloway's scheme to be expunged from its report. Patrick Henry had from the first considered a fight inevitable. Mr. Henry's record had perforce made of him a fisherman in troubled waters. The men who were not delegates in 1774—Otis, Hawley, Jefferson, Hamilton, Hancock, and Franklin speak in confusion. Otis, Franklin, Jefferson give testimony against secession occupying any man's thoughts, Hawley was certain there must be fighting. Hamilton, the precocious boy of the Revolution, at this time in his eighteenth year, intimated in his pointed attacks on the "West Chester Farmer" (Sea-

bury) that he felt no hope remained in loyalty or in petitions; there must be an appeal to arms, yet he fills in spaces, with the usual expressions of devotion to the British monarchy, and particularly for the reigning family. Franklin, being in London in 1774, assured Lord Chatham that there was no talk, idle or serious, in favour of separation. Franklin, however, had been in London for ten years, and was probably out of touch with the undertow of events in America.

His own account of his interview with that famous man, Lord Chatham, is lengthy, yet the passage bearing upon Independence is worthy of reproduction.

> I assured him that having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or hint that such a thing would be advantageous for America: he (Lord Chatham) expressed much satisfaction in the assurances I had given him that America did not aim at Independence.

But the versatility of Franklin's genius perhaps weakened his sense of the relative value of information, for it is certain he had since leaving his native land in 1764 been apprised through friends that much talk about Independence was going on in America, although no serious importance was attached to it. The Australian people have been hearing talk of the same kind for the last quarter of a century, and that too from responsible quarters. Doubtless the Irish Presbyterians, exiled by the blind sycophancy of their own Parliament, and the operation of economic ideas prevalent in the eighteenth century, were Liberationists at heart,[1] and Mr. Bancroft is perhaps correct in his estimate of their influence as fostering the notion

[1] Frederick, Bishop of Derry, to Lord Dartmouth, 23rd May 1775, ascribes the rebellious spirit in the central provinces of America to the exportation from Ireland of nearly 33,000 fanatical and hungry republicans in the course of a few years.

of Separation, but talk of this kind is often little more than, to use a famous phrase, "coffee-house babble." It was the Congress of 1774 that gave to all this floating opinion the touch of crystallisation. The documents of this Congress were drawn up by men of education and of leading position. Jay was of King's College, New York, both the Adamses were Harvard men, Lee was of the William and Mary College in Virginia. Of the men outside Congress who pushed its projects along, Hamilton was of King's College, Hancock, a Harvard man. Many of the delegates were country gentlemen of high standing, such as Washington and the Randolphs and the Rutledges, others had seen high service as speakers of Assemblies, and so throughout. There is no doubt that John Adams' gossiping sarcasm about the members being too clever by half is quite well founded on facts. And what is still more important in this view of the case for the Congress, is that its main contentions were warmly supported, both by Loyalists and Whigs. If Samuel Adams was a Separatist, Joseph Galloway and Dickinson were strong Unionists. Judge Jones was at first as hot in favour of Congress as were the Livingstons, the energetic Presbyterians of New York. The whole movement, therefore, was at first the work of men of property—the aristocrats of America, whether wealthy merchants enriched by smuggling, or opulent tobacco and rice growers dependent on slave labour. Men of this class invariably resent control applied to themselves, and entertain a cold hatred towards officials of every or any degree. A very pungent letter of Mr. Gouverneur Morris to Mr. Penn gives very plainly, and at some length, the opinion of a bystander about the patriotic movements of the wealthy merchants, who made use of some men of the lower class to defeat the Stamp Act, but growing alarmed at their own success in this direction, withdrew from further counsel of the same intention. They nevertheless found themselves replaced by the men whom they had educated in

this kind of political learning, and had now to stand by, helpless and foolish, while their pupils carried forward the fruitful lesson to its logical application.[1]

Consequently the recommendations of the Congress of 1774 were generally received with noisy approbation. It is, however, to be noted that certain Provincial Assemblies, notoriously that of New York, declined to ratify the Articles of Association, refused to accord to their delegates any thanks for their services at the Congress, and to appoint delegates to serve in the Congress convened for the 10th of May 1775. But this aloofness of an important Colony did not affect the main issue.

The proceedings of Congress were read throughout America with enthusiastic admiration. Their recommendations were revered as revelations, and obeyed as laws of the highest obligation. It is true that in some places disaffection to the system of opposition prevailed.[2]

Absolute unanimity did not exist, and could not be expected to exist. This enthusiastic estimate of one whose voice is practically that of a contemporary, was also that of the farmers and of the town population. Unionists were now exposed to an increased blast of the popular fury. To criticise the doings and propositions of Congress was to invite dastardly outrage. No man dared to write openly and above his own name against the Petition or the Articles of Association, or against any other such thing. All that has been noticed above as to the Reign of Terror might be repeated with added details, for during the interval of eight months between the First and Second Continental Congresses, there was an absolute cessation of executive law all along the Atlantic border. "It is impossible," says Mr. Roosevelt, "to paint in too dark colours the ferocity of the struggle," and amidst this ferocious outburst, all authority except that of the mob, disappeared. The

[1] Cf. *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i. 23; date of letter, N.Y., 20th May 1774. [2] Marshall, *Life of Washington*, i. 229.

well-known letter signed "Plain English," addressed to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, enumerates thirty-three cases of violent outrage committed in the neighbourhood of Boston on the persons of Judges, Sheriffs, high law officials, and the President of the King's Council in Massachusetts, not counting country gentlemen, and their wives and daughters. Deeds of insulting injury were committed, it was alleged, either at the instigation or under the guidance of members of the Provincial Congress itself.[1]

The homeward-bound delegates from Congress on that wet October day in 1774, being impressed with the notion that the alternative to this ultimatum must be a fight, passed round word that men should be enrolled, drilled, and instructed in the use of arms. Rough riders dispersed all over the country with a kind of fiery cross message for men to be ready for the worst. Drilling of enlisted men went on openly. There was no armed British force equal to the task of coercing the country-side. Magistrates either sympathised with the Patriots or were afraid to oppose them. To police the whole of the seaboard of New York there was early in 1775 only one sloop of war, the *Kingfisher*, and a hundred men of the Royal Irish. South of New York there was not a British bayonet. All the roads were under espionage, every rider surmised to be a suspect, to use an expression subsequently current in France, was arrested and subjected to the strictest scrutiny. Lieut.-Governor Colden mentions that he cannot get a letter through overland: "all letters have been opened on the way," he reports to Lord Dartmouth.[2] Military parades of

[1] This behaviour Bancroft approves: "The people, confident in their strength, scorned the thought of obedience except on conditions that should be satisfactory to themselves." The spirit in fact of a fractious child. He describes with approbation a series of outrages in Annapolis (Maryland), in October 1774, wherein the *just resentment* of their fellow-countrymen caused the Captain and consignees of a ship to set fire to their own vessel.

[2] Colden to Dartmouth, N.Y., 3rd May 1775, and 7th June 1775.

men enlisted for no other purpose than that of armed resistance to Great Britain, were frequent in every town. In this way passed the winter of 1774-1775, at the close of which 12,000 men had been enrolled in Massachusetts, the Minute-men drilled, Government property seized, and every preparation made by accumulation of stores and ammunition at various centres. Meanwhile no pains were spared to debauch the British soldiers and induce them to desert. They were assured of large rewards and certain protection, with the result that the officers began at last to apprehend the loss of the whole of their commands.

Action of the Ministry.

At the same time in England the Ultimatum had been rejected. It was not open to the British Ministry to take any other course. No responsible politician, not Burke nor Chatham, advocated the total abolition of Parliamentary control in the American Colonies. Chatham executed the well-known political device of facing both ways in his opposition to the Ministry. He declared that Americans justly owed obedience to the Parliament of Great Britain, and

> . . . as to the metaphysical refinements of attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraint as (they are) from taxation for revenue (because) unrepresented here, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless.

The noble Earl's grammar is perhaps untrammelled, but the sentiment is quite plain. He scouts the idea of conceding the Americans' contention that they owe no allegiance to Parliament; which done, he advises the Ministry, in Sheridan's words to—

> Deign to grant them all they ask,
> Assist them to accomplish all their ends
> And sanctify whatever means they use
> To gain them

But Chatham's influence in the counsels of the country had abated and continued to abate.

"He had," says Macaulay, "at the time of his decease few personal adherents. Half the public men of the age had been

estranged from him by his errors, and the other half by the exertions he made to repair his errors."[1]

The Opposition having no settled policy as a party, had, as such, little deliberative value at this critical juncture. The Marquess of Rockingham, Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Grafton were all for unconditional surrender; the other Whig magnates were for conciliation with a limitation to the unconditional maintenance of a kind of suzerainty of the fractious people over the water. This seems to have been Mr. Burke's position. In his justly admired speech of 22nd March 1775, in the House of Commons—a speech of nearly 30,000 words, occupying many hours in delivery—he would appear to favour the establishment of American Home Rule under the supremacy of the Crown. In support of his contention Ireland was brought forward.

"Ireland," said he, "has ever had from the beginning a separate but not an independent legislature, which far from distracting, promoted the union of the whole. Everything was sweetly and harmoniously disposed through both islands for the conservation of English dominion and the communication of English liberties."[2]

To any one acquainted with the true state of the kingdom of Ireland this illustration does not carry conviction. To describe Ireland as being in a sweet and harmonious condition under the rampant Protestant ascendancy, was a flight of imaginative oratory, more suitable to an Orange Debating Society

[1] Macaulay, "Earl of Chatham," at the close of the Essay. Chatham was not trusted in America. In 1775 Franklin was charged with being his agent, and was in consequence regarded with suspicion. Chatham's adherence to the principle of Parliamentary supremacy nullified in 1775 all sense of his former championship of the American cause, which indeed, on its own merits, he seems to have comprehended imperfectly. Cf. Dartmouth papers, Letter to Brig.-Gen. Robertson, 25th May 1775.

[2] Cf. No. 7 of Burke's propositions at the end of speech on "Conciliation with America." Burke was speaking in a House containing no Irish members. His propositions were rejected.

than to the deliberations of the High Court of Parliament. A careful examination of Mr. Burke's speech, adorned as it is by great eloquence, and full as it is of aphorisms and wise sayings, seems to lead one no further in the comprehension of his advice to Parliament and to Great Britain, than that there should be a general repeal of all the Acts of Parliament of which America complained, and that all restrictions on smuggling should be removed. Mr. Burke is well known to have disapproved of men in Opposition offering schemes or plans of policy alternative to those promoted by a Ministry—a reticence he at this time of the parting of the ways, prudently maintained. His scheme of conciliation amounted virtually to an unconditional surrender to the American claims. It is true the official opinion of the City of London was with him. The common Council of London, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, drew up a strong petition to the House of Lords against the policy of the Ministry. But the City of London, through its Lord Mayor, was then in the habit of thinking the Court could do nothing right.

Popular tribunes of the Wilkes and Beckford type had for some years controlled its official opinions and utterances; besides which general influence there was the fact that the boycott of British goods and the cessation of consignments from America had so dislocated credit, that many leading merchants became entangled in their affairs. There was a large floating account on the other side of the Atlantic, which in detail could not be collected for lack of currency. The bill discounters and banking houses, being embarrassed, naturally complained, but the country generally was with the Ministry and had a touching belief in the good-will and sagacity of the King. This interesting diversity of opinion gave rise to the ferment about the series of propositions friendly to American claims brought forward by Lord North, and known familiarly as the "Olive Branch."

Briefly; this was a resolution of the House of

Commons of 27th February 1775, to the effect that if any of the Provinces propose to make provision for contributing to the common defence, and for the support of the Government, and for the administration of justice, no tax, duty, or assessment should be there levied except for the regulation of commerce.[1] This step of Lord North's met with the most strenuous opposition in the British Parliament, both from the Opposition headed by Burke, and from sections of his own party. But as soon as it was divulged that the measure had the fervent support of the King, the party rallied to the Minister and adopted the resolutions. The King characterised the measure as an "Olive Branch." But although the Olive Branch was borne over the stormy waters to the American Ark the windows of that vessel unhappily were now closed. The Branch arrived too late. Despatched some time after 3rd March by Lord Dartmouth to the address of the several Provincial Governors, it reached the Congress of 1775 on the 30th of May, and was rejected. It was a document meriting a better reception and a better fate. No one with any reasonable knowledge of the facts would allow himself to suppose either Lord Dartmouth or his royal master capable of the bloodthirsty schemes Americans pretended to discover in everything emanating from Whitehall. The King and his Ministry were backed by the opinion of the whole country so far as national opinion was then represented in the House of Commons. The insurgent Colonists miscalculated the weight of the Opposition in the councils of the country, and were grossly misled by William Lee as to the trend and set of popular feeling in England. William Lee, one of the great Virginian family of that name, had been educated at Rugby and Cambridge, becoming in due course Alderman and Sheriff of the City, sent copies of seditious papers prepared for distribution in the ranks of the army in Ireland, and of other similar documents, to his friends

[1] Cf. Draft in Record Office, 279, fol. 89. It appears in Marshall ii. 238, with the comments of Congress thereon.

in America, who interpreted their influence in the sense most favourable to their own aims.[1] Hasty to believe the King and the Ministry unpopular, and willing to think of the London Bill of Rights Society as a vane or weathercock indicative of the way the breeze was setting, Americans rejected the "Olive Branch" with contumely. Meanwhile in all communications from either to the other side, every form of international courtesy had been rigidly maintained. The professions of loyalty to the person of the King; the deep regrets entertained by his loyal subjects; the humiliation they felt at having to steal his guns and confiscate his stores, to keep them as pledges until peace and concord should be restored; "the sobs and tears" with which the sorrow-stricken Americans "sorted out those of the largest size," in the way of forts, block-houses, and inward-bound British ships to prevent mischief;[2] the loud cries Americans raised when their own stores, accumulated also for mischievous purposes, were confiscated by a brutal and licentious soldiery—all these elements of tragi-comedy played themselves out to the end. The high conventions of after-dinner speeches at a City banquet, the fine, old, stock, resounding phrases which deceive no one, the elaborate mendacities of epistolary correspondence were, I think, in a humble way, never more fully illustrated than in the case of the reception of General Gage in Boston in 1774, and in the letters submitted to His Excellency from time to time during his brief term of office by the Provincial Assembly or the Committee of Correspondence of Massachusetts.

[1] William Lee sent documents to America by Josiah Quincy, Jr., whose health was so poor that he died at Marblehead (Mass.), a day or two after landing, from the exhaustion of sea-sickness. Lee's treasonable correspondence is of a later date than the Dartmouth "Olive Branch." Lee to Quincy, March 17, 1775.

[2] Congress, in May 1775, directed an exact inventory of the cannon raided at Ticonderoga should be made, that the goods might be restored when "the renewal of the former harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies renders it prudent."

As a matter of fact, as we now see, the King and Ministry in Great Britain had the support of a vigorous mass of public opinion demanding coercion in America, while the Congress was supported by a minority of Americans, full of courage and conviction, who were determined America should be independent.

The Second Continental Congress.

The second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia as arranged on the 10th of May 1775. Jefferson, Franklin, and Hancock were now delegates; back also came John Adams and his outlawed kinsman Samuel. The cakes and ale of the former Congress had disappeared. Dr. Cox of Philadelphia's famous grapes, melons, and peaches, of the dinners of October 1774, had gone like winter's snows. Doubtless there was still snug hospitality in that most hospitable of cities; but there were now more serious matters toward, and stern-minded men stood like boys at the edge of a pool shivering on the brink of decision. Every man of the Congress knew that war was impending, and that unsuccessful war meant for himself either exile or a traitor's death. The most courageous might well hesitate in the face of such a terrible alternative. Such a hesitancy is obvious in all the actions of Congress up to the time of the appointment of Colonel Washington as Commander-

July 1775. in-Chief of the Continental Army. Never was a body of men in a more anomalous position.

"What did they represent, what were their functions?" asks Mr. Bancroft. "They formed no confederacy, they were not an Executive Government, they were not even a legislative body; there was not a foot of land on which they had the right to execute their decisions; and they had not one civil officer to carry out their commands nor the power to appoint one. Nor was one soldier enlisted nor one officer commissioned in their name. They had no treasury, and neither authority to lay a tax nor to borrow money. They had been elected in part at least by tumultuary assemblies or bodies which had no recognised legal assistance; they were intrusted with no powers but those of counsel . . . and they represented nothing more than the unformed opinion of an unformed people."[1]

[1] Bancroft vii., ch. 34, *ad. init.*

Yet this anomalous and acephalous body in 1775 began to act in a sovereign capacity. It took upon itself the quarrel of Massachusetts and made that quarrel its own. It appointed George Washington, Esq., the supreme Commander of the Continental forces. It issued paper money by the hundredweight, without any funds to meet the paper, or credit to raise a loan. It bought goods and made contracts, gave orders for supplies, authorised levies, granted commissions, sent subsidies to the four quarters of the States in aid of raising, mustering, and equipping troops, in fact, took upon itself all the sovereign duties of the national assembly of a federated people thirteen years before the people were federated. For instance, on 26th June 1776, a week before the Declaration of Independence, the Congress issued on its own authority twenty-one commissions to a battalion to be raised in the Province of New York, requesting in the message to the Provincial Assembly of New York conveying the official intimation of the appointments, that the New York Assembly would complete the roll of commissioned officers, and do their best to get the battalion forward for service in the field. On the same day it was agreed to buy the brig *Catherine* with all her armaments, "as she now lies in Connecticut." Certain accounts also were passed for payment; among other articles purchased were "two riffles" at a cost of 24 dollars or £9;[1] then it was resolved that a bounty of ten dollars be given to every non-commissioned officer or private soldier, on his enlisting for three years; which done, General Washington is instructed to take such measures as he thinks fit for the public welfare. Orders are issued for the purchase of one ton of powder. Michael Hillegas, Esq., is directed to liquidate all money commitments made on Continental bills of credit, and other payments are ordered. This business being complete the dinner-hour drew near, and Congress adjourned, "the several

[1] This dollar appears to be a Spanish dollar or piece of 8 pesetas, say, 7s. 6d. English.

matters to this day referred being postponed." The hours of assembly appear to have been from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. All this business was transacted by men of acknowledged ability, who knew or must have known there was not a red cent in the Treasury ; that they had no authority to levy taxes or make any money commitments whatever ; that it is not honest to make obligations that cannot be met ; that they had no power to enforce their resolutions and decisions ; that if any one of the thirteen States willed to neglect, resent, or publicly repudiate resolutions and orders issued by Congress, there was nothing to be done but sit back and feel helpless. Michael Hillegas, Esq., for instance, is directed to meet certain promises to pay ; with what ? With other promises to pay, of course. Micawber's money transactions with Mr. Thomas Traddles were financial doings of the same complexion. How then did Congress act in the total absence of money and credit ? They manufactured paper money on fictitious credit. They issued stuff called Continental money ; and to this day in the Eastern States of America to assign to any plan, scheme, or object the lowest thinkable value is to say it is not worth a Continental. This sum is like the familiar brass farthing of British reference, traditional, I believe, from the brass money and wooden shoe policy imputed by Orangemen to James the Second. Of this Continental money the value fluctuated at very low levels according to localities. "I hear," writes the Rev. Thos. Smith on 27th April, 1779, "that in Boston flour is at £50 per hundred, that is, a barrel is more than my whole salary." A few days later he notes that green peas sold at 20 dollars a peck. In August Mr. Smith bought a pound of tea for 19 dollars. In 1780, on 24th March, Mr. Smith notes that "Young Mussey asks 500 for a hat." On 10th October the reverend man notes "I had nothing for dinner, and no prospect of any." He mentions elsewhere that his vestry paid his salary, fixed at a certain not illiberal rate before the beginning of sorrows, not in hard but in

Continental money. As Mr. Smith lived in Portland, in a country unmolested by British troops, there was no particular reason why his vestry should pay their pastor in Continental money, except with the intention to defraud.[1] But of all the instruments of torture applied to timid citizens, Patriot or Loyalist, this currency issued by Congress was the most effective. It provided Patriots with a new way to pay old debts.

Judge Jones charges the American General called Lord Stirling with defrauding his creditors by forcing upon them Continental paper. Congress having poured out millions and millions of paper dollars commanded the people of America to treat this stuff as gold and silver, with a pronouncement that if a man refused so to receive it, he should be publicly advertised as an enemy to his country. As this advertisement was thought to entail tarring and feathering, riding on a rail, whipping or possibly maiming, wounding or killing, the terror of such results acted as a kind of solvent even on the most determined characters. Stirling, it was said, availing himself of the opportunity in 1779, when the Spanish dollar or piece of eight pesetas would purchase eighty paper dollars, invested £1000 hard money in Continentals and paid off his creditors, whose total claims against him amounted to £80,000. Whatever credibility attaches to Judge Jones' statements about Lord Stirling, there can be little doubt thousands of persons were defrauded by the methods imputed to him.[2] There was a vast amount of robbery in the States under similar conditions of currency in 1861 and later years.

[1] Smith's *Journal* passim, 1779, 1780, 1781. One of the later entries is "Wood is fallen to 120," *i.e.* a dollar and a half silver, which statement appears to indicate that exchange of the Continental or paper dollar was 1-80th of the face value.

[2] Jones' estimate of the exchange value of the paper dollar or Continental tallies with the value, according to Smith's *Journal*, in 1781. After 1781, Smith's opinion is that the Continental no longer circulated. "There is only hard money passing, and little of that." Cf. *Journal*, 22nd August 1781.

But the hardest case was that of the soldier, as may be noticed in the chapter on "The Revolutionary Army," where the matter is pursued a little further. It may suffice to remark here that defrauding soldiers of their wages, on the expiry of their service, was a common thing. Elijah Fisher, a citizen of Attleborough, Mass., enlisted in 1775, and served till the close of the war. His seven brothers also served for varying periods in the Continental Army during the war. Elijah was enrolled at Attleborough by the Selectmen of that place, on a bounty of fifty-four pounds, hard money, at his enlistment. At the close of his time of three years he applied for the depreciation on his wages, that is, he applied for the difference between the cash value and the paper value of his three years' pay. He was referred to Boston where they informed him that as he had received fifty-four pounds by way of bounty, the depreciation of his wages had been paid in advance. Elijah was very angry and puts down in his journal:

> If that was the way they meant to use the sholgers, if I had anone of it before I had engaged I never would have gone the six months. But jest so they use the sholgers. They will promise them they will give so and so, and after they have got them to enlist, they are cheated out of one-half they ought to have.[1]

It seems, consequently, that the Congress paper money becomes a potent implement of oppression in the hands of rogues, vestrymen, commanding officers, or commissaries. How then did the Congress succeed in enforcing general acceptance of its requisitions and demands? It was an influence, but only an influence; and yet was it so strong as almost to amount to a government.

From the meeting of the first Congress in 1774, down to the conclusion of Peace in 1782 a recommendation of Congress was looked upon as binding as law. A person disputing its validity, operation, or even legality would have been deemed

[1] Cf. Elijah Fisher's *Journal*, 4th July 1780.

an enemy to his country, held up and advertised by such, turned out to be baited by the mob, tarred and feathered, carted, imprisoned, plundered, and perhaps murdered. All the Loyalists within the Thirteen Colonies were disarmed, numbers of them imprisoned, some plundered, some murdered, and hundreds transported into the interior parts of the different provinces, all upon "recommendation from Congress." Millions of paper money were struck, made a legal tender, and the people obliged to take it in all cases and upon all occasions upon pain of the anathemas of Congress.[1]

This language does not exaggerate the facts, so far as the first two years of the struggle are concerned. Congress and its supporters, like folk nearer home in our time, had a profound trust in votes and ballot-boxes. They ordered up victories, created magazines of ammunition, founded artillery and musketry factories, called into existence armies numbering 80,000 men, directed that all punishments in the course of military discipline should be referred to them, sent Commissioners in the later French Revolutionary style to the great camps to inspect and admonish, prepared a code inflicting death for thirteen separate and different offences, and in a most approved democratic mode patronised Washington, censured Schuyler, listened to Gates's insinuations, distributed patronage to foreigners, threw money about in sums of half a million at a time, and made John Adams war minister. When called upon to redeem pledges and promises to their fellow-countrymen in the field, they despatched a ton or two of flour, a few dollars, and a bale or two of tracts and manifestoes, as the lords of the earth should to their subjects.

On the 4th of July 1776 Congress, under the Presidency of the Hon. John Hancock, Esquire, issued the famous Declaration of Independence, which is annually declaimed on its anniversary, wherever Americans congregate. In foreign parts it is to good Americans the Lord's song in a strange land, sung

[1] Jones, ii. 242 (somewhat abridged).

lustily too, and with a good courage. That the mind and the feeling of the lower class folk had been running strong for independence for years, is now quite obvious. Ten years' enjoyment of the pleasures of the chase with for quarry your neighbour, whose disposition or circumstances led him to desire the quiet continuance of a state of social and political order in which he had lived with comfort for many years, had induced in the Patriots of the public meetings and secret committees a passion to complete their operations by the total destruction of every form of authority, other than that of the hand-made and hand-to-mouth variety. These Sons of Liberty in the winter of 1775-1776 were, according to a New England phrase, "in a sad toss." They were weary of waiting. They were tired of the pros and cons of the Franklin scale of adjustment for conduct that appeared to reign in Carpenters' Hall at Philadelphia. It is true that the delegates were sensible of the fact that the hemp was woven for most of them should the civil war in Massachusetts, the war they had made their own, turn out disastrous. But the personal danger of the delegates was thought to be a matter of small moment compared with the ardour of a people "panting" as Mr. John Adams says, "for Independence." Added to this breathless pack of hunters was the crowd of middle men, whose business was falling in pieces under the influence of boycott and bad money.

Tom Paine.

At this juncture emerged from obscurity Mr. Thomas Paine, or Payne, an Englishman, out of Norfolk, and a Quaker, who, after an interesting career as a mariner, a preventive officer, a teacher, and an agitator, had found his way to Philadelphia. His character and conduct are perhaps adequately summarized in one of Franklin's own sayings in a letter thought to be addressed to Paine himself. "He," wrote the sage, "that spits against the wind spits in his own face."[1] Paine's life was for the most part spent

[1] Franklin to Paine (?) date uncertain; in *Franklin's Letters*, ed. Bigelow.

in this rather specialized form of activity. Among the Hottentots it used to be said, that before a youth was admitted into the company of men, he should prove his prowess by beating his own mother. Many Englishmen have in times past, as well as now, vindicated their claims to manhood by prowess of this kind, but Paine occupies a very high place in the roll of these devotees to filial duty. At the age of thirty-five he essayed to lay before the British Ministry the case for the British exciseman, then in receipt of £50 a year to maintain himself, his family, and a horse. The pamphlet is very able and full of smart sayings and slipshod grammar. But England was in those days at its worst as a living place for a poor ambitious man; and Paine being unsuccessful quitted his native land with rage in his heart. In Philadelphia he found work as the editor of the *Philadelphia Magazine*, and in the first week of 1776 appeared his famous pamphlet "Common Sense" addressed to the inhabitants of America.[1]

It is one of the most remarkable pamphlets ever penned, and still finds many readers and admirers too. The keynote of this cry to the people is pitched high. He begins:

> A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom. The tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.
>
> Society is produced by our wants; and Government by our wickedness; the one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions; the first is a patron, the last is a punisher.

He classified the Loyalists as:

> Interested men who are not to be trusted, weak men who cannot see, prejudiced men who will not see, and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world

[1] Cf. Paine's collected works, edit. 1817, vol. i. His signature in his marriage register is Thomas Pain.

than it deserves . . . and this last class will be the cause of more calamities to this Continent than all the other three. . . .

It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by delay and timidity.

It is not in the power of Britain to do the Continent justice; the business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us.

And so on with pungency, variety, and perhaps a little vulgarity, the savoury meat the people love, throughout an address that fills fifty-four closely printed pages. It then appeared that this wandering Englishman somehow had the secret of expressing what tens of thousands had been thinking, and had found no words to express. America, by the time the pamphlet reached the public, was already independent. Howe with his army was at Halifax in Nova Scotia; every city in America was in Patriot hands and under Patriot control, yet the public ratification of the actual condition of things was wanting. As Paine's Address, which circulated by bales, gradually found its way into every house in America, it seemed as if each hearth caught fire. Professor Tyler has collected a quantity of evidence to show that during the first ten or twelve years of this struggle, the leading Whigs, at any rate, were absolutely opposed to a policy that might eventuate in severance and independence.[1] And yet in six short months over a vast area thinly populated, such a *volte face* took place that the Declaration of Independence was hailed not indeed with acclamation, but as the public registration of an accomplished fact.

Of the profound impression caused by this pamphlet Professor Tyler offers an admirable account.

It was originally published at Philadelphia on the 9th of February 1776 without the author's name. On the 20th of that month a second edition with "large additions" was pub-

[1] Tyler, i. 458-462; cf. also Geo. E. Ellis, D.D., in Justin Winsor, vi., "The Sentiment of Independence."

lished by the same booksellers. On the 25th another edition was announced by a firm of rival booksellers in Philadelphia, who state that "several hundreds are already bespoke," one thousand for Virginia, and that the work was about to be published in German. The edition thus announced made its appearance on the 20th of February, being a pamphlet of fifty pages, and containing large and interesting additions by the author.

In New York, Norwich, Providence, Newport, Salem, Newbury Port, Charlestown, Boston, and elsewhere in America, it was soon reprinted, as well as in London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Edinburgh, Rotterdam, and Paris. Within three months from the date of its first issue at least 120,000 copies of it were sold in America alone.

The work being anonymous was naturally imputed to John Adams, then to Samuel Adams, then to Franklin. Three years afterwards, when John Adams was in Paris, the most effusive welcome was extended to him on the ground of his supposed authorship of this widespread and famous pamphlet. Twelve years later Franklin, writing to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld a letter to be personally delivered by Paine in France mentions Mr. Paine as "the author of a famous piece called 'Common Sense' published here with great effect on the minds of the people at the beginning of the Revolution."

I am unable to concur with the opinion that the American Whigs up to the 10th of January 1776, were for the most part steadily opposed to secession, and that a political somersault as Professor Tyler calls it, unrivalled in the history of mankind, was mainly due to Paine's pamphlet. It is not the first time in the history of European people that all the signs of the times were totally misapprehended by the great ones, the nominal leaders of the people. In his *History of European Morals* Mr. Lecky furnishes a dissertation on the conversion of Rome; an illustration if not a parallel. Paine begins his pamphlet by an aphorism,

that men are more amenable to time than reason; by which presumably he means that explosions, political or otherwise, are due to long and careful preparation of explosives. Earthquakes are not got ready while you wait; nor somersaults executed successfully without long practice. Paine appealed to the mob, to the loafers of the Long Wharf in Boston, to the longshore tars and dollies of the Battery in New York, and to the lumber-men of the Delaware. He recommended that every American-born man taken in arms against the Continental forces should immediately be shot as a traitor. He called George III. a royal brute; John Adams said of the King that he was Nerone Neronior. It is clear that Paine's phrase would go to the heart of the people straight, while as to John Adams's Latinity, the people who could pronounce the phrase would want to know what it meant. Quick measures and violent deeds were more to the taste of the Sons of Liberty, who had for many years by unrestrained violence abolished liberty of speech not to say of action, and had rendered secession logically imperative.

It is significant that four days before Paine's pamphlet appeared, thirty-two company captains were commissioned in Philadelphia alone. The gentle Graydon was among them, a man who disliked the whole patriotic movement as heartily as he disliked the British, and one who had been well pleased for an indefinite period to partake of pie and spruce beer quietly in his mother's respectable boarding-house in the intervals allowed by sleep, the calls of business, and mild social excitements. But even he, in the first week of 1776, found himself drawn in by the commotions and influences of the hour. "I did not apply before," he says, "because the applicants for commissions were not of my set of acquaintance."[1] This refusal to encounter war's alarms except in genteel company denotes the man. But of the

[1] Graydon, *Memoirs*, p. 125.

explosive power of Paine's pamphlet there is overwhelming evidence. It gave Mrs. John Adams the jumps.[1] She read its sentiments, was charmed with them, and thereafter expressed a pious and hearty wish that every Tory might be extirpated from America. General Charles Lee, to whom tradition imputes the saying that "Heaven was ever found favourable to strong battalions," swore his approval in his own high style, and wrote to friends pushing the circulation of the booklet. One enthusiast proposed a golden statue to the author. In fact the approbation and admiration of the Whigs was everywhere expressed in tones either stentorian or gentle, but never uncertain. For many of the Whigs had gone so far in their practical interpretation of liberty as a licence to torture their neighbour, if a man of another way of thinking; and so many leading men had done so much to promote armed resistance, that the only way out was by way of secession. Graydon says that Richard Penn, one of the great founder's kin, being within hearing one day of a remark of a member of Congress that to achieve anything they must hang together, rejoined, "If you do not, gentlemen, I can tell you, you will be very apt to hang separately," a grim pleasantry, justified by an apprehension at the back of many minds. Paine's pamphlet heartened the Patriots up to the unavoidable, like a glass of brandy administered to a man in a dentist's room. Paine at the time of publication had no credit, and his success brought him no money. There being no law of copyright in force at that time in America, printers reproduced the tract without any acknowledgment or remuneration to the author. And it is a singular irony of fortune that this able, erratic, and bibulous man is better known as the author of the *Age of Reason*, which very few read, than as the writer of a most astonishingly successful political pamphlet. His further career does not concern us in this place; he was ever

[1] Mrs. Abigail Adams to her husband, 2nd March 1776.

the mere shuttlecock of a disordered judgment, a fervid imagination, and fevered scheme of life. He lived to bless Mr. Washington as a man whose exemplary virtues contributed so much to establish the principles of freedom, and to curse him as the perpetrator of a series of blunders that had nearly ruined the country, and to accuse him of being treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life: "for the world will be puzzled to decide whether you (Washington) are an apostate or an impostor."[1] Consequently a Declaration of Independence having become inevitable, the drafting of it was taken in hand by Congress. The first draft of this document was made from a manuscript in the handwriting of John Adams, and after some emendations by Franklin, Jefferson, and the total omission of one long paragraph, was composed from a draft and notes by Jefferson, unanimously adopted, engrossed, and signed by the delegates, Mr. John Hancock, as President, affixing the first signature, with fifty-four signatures following, on Thursday, 4th July 1776.

The Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of Independence is the Apogee of the American epic, and ranks among the great State Papers of the world. Next to Magna Carta no document has attained more publicity; while unlike Magna Carta it has undergone the fiercest criticism both as to its form, its facts, and its expression. It is a series of denunciations with a preamble, or exordium, a peroration, and a conclusion. The one object of the denunciations is the King. The Ministry or Ministries, and the British people behind the Ministry (there were no Irish members in Westminster in those days, and the Scotch members of Parliament to a man supported the Tory Ministry) escape without the effusion of precious head-breaking balms. Both on this side and the American side of the Atlantic, the document has been exposed to the most withering

[1] Paine to Washington, appended to *Principles of Government*, in vol. ii. of edition of 1817.

sarcasm, from Liberals or Whigs here, and from men of the United States and of Canada on the other side. It is an imprudent man who drafts papers to be reviewed by a public body—committee, convention, or congress. Jefferson, who made the final draft, not being the sort of man who suffers fools gladly, is described as writhing beneath the lash of his colleagues when the document was undergoing consideration. Neither Virginia, as represented by Richard Henry Lee, nor Massachusetts, as represented by John Adams, although they adopted Jefferson's production, spared Jefferson the advantages of friendly criticism. Finally John Adams claimed that the essence of it was distilled in Boston, under the hands of James Otis and Samuel Adams, on which Professor Tyler remarks:

> Thus the ingenuous reader has the happiness of seeing the eternal fitness of things complied with, and the chief intellectual merit of the Declaration of Independence brought back to the place where it belongs, and there divided between the town of Boston, James Otis, and the Adams family.[1]

It is no use criticising the document now; to do so is, perhaps, for a foreigner unmannerly. It has a singular fascination for the American people. Every year, in ten thousand places, it is recited or declaimed to the great admiration of a people of whom the *atavi* were in 1775 for the most part in Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, or China; honest folk who had never heard of the United States of America. Professor Tyler thinks that the unalloyed popularity of the Declaration of Independence is due to "its possession of the witchery of true substance wedded to perfect form," a judgment that the work of Pindar or Horace may perhaps merit. But the words of "God save the

[1] Tyler, *ibid.* p. 505, note. In the *Journals* of the Continental Congress, 28th June 1776, the earlier and later drafts of the document are printed side by side, column wise, together with all minor emendations. Among other charges, the iniquities of slavery were imputed to George III., but this item was too strong even for these iron digestions, and was omitted in the final draft.

King" have an equal fascination. It is true the victims of a weaker sentiment have altered these fine lines:

> Confound their politics,
> Frustrate their knavish tricks,

but the rest of the polished song remains. It is sung with fervour in more places and oftener than the Declaration of Independence is recited. Who then was the British Tyrtaeus? Who penned "the witchery of substance wedded to perfect form" found in "God save the King"? It must be a moving sight to watch the hundred thousand (or whatever their number is) Jews of New York while they gnash their teeth and clench their fists with indignation on hearing the wrongs done to their ancestors by the Stamp Act of 1765. How many Jews were there in New York in 1765? Had they the vote then, or were they even tolerated?

The Declaration was received with general acclamation throughout the Thirteen States. In New York there was a gaol delivery of debtors, the King's Coat of Arms was brought away from the State House and burnt amidst the capers and cheers of the multitude; who also cut off King George's head, and melted his leaden remains into bullets. At Princeton there was a general illumination with volleys of musketry. In Philadelphia the King's Arms were burnt, and his insignia generally throughout the States were defaced. In Boston, however, to the satisfaction of the citizens, the King's Arms have been regilt and replaced after removal in 1776 with much military ceremony. The Convention of Virginia expunged from the Prayer Book all reference to the King or the Royal Family. In fact the King's honest face was nowhere to be seen (they had already in Boston defaced and hacked about his picture in the State House [1]) except on the British guinea; on which medallion it remained more popular than ever. Not all the paper money and resolves and declarations ever printed could dissuade the New Jersey

[1] Howe's Order Book, 14th March 1776. He offered £50 for the discovery of the culprits to no purpose.

and Long Island farmers from delighting in that golden presence—a fact about which Washington makes many bitter complaints.

Congress being now in a sense a sovereign power proceeded to issue decrees and firmans of many sorts with divers objects. It had as much faith in the power of oratory and printed words as some British people appear to have in the power of the ballot-box. As the latter seem to think a formal expression of their wishes an immediate prelude to accomplishment and realisation, so Congress manifested a quite guileless belief in the power of Resolves. How much or how little Congress did to bring about the final emancipation must be judged from the course of events during the war. Congress gradually falling into disrepute, men greedy of power found the impotence of Congress distasteful; they discovered larger scope for public work in the services of the State Legislatures, or in the Army, and how they and Congress dealt with the Army is noticed elsewhere in these pages.

# CHAPTER VII

## FORCES OF THE CROWN: A SKETCH OF THE SOCIAL AND MILITARY CONDITIONS OF THE TWO SERVICES BETWEEN 1760 AND 1800

### I.

THIS and the subsequent chapters deal with the King's men of the Army, the rank and file chiefly, and the A.B.'s of the sister service: the subjects of the Crown, who, springing from street or soil, naturally reproduce the conditions of their origin in character and conduct. The period under present review comprises about forty
1759. years, dating from the death of Wolfe forward.

The subject admits of discursive treatment without violating the unity of the purpose. Materials and information about both Services, Navy and Army, do not lie on the surface of things. It was an age careless of the poor, and still more careless of its poor servants. But to apprehend the work, sufferings, and failures of the Englishmen whose blood was freely shed on every shore, one must know a little about the conditions of their homes, their work, their life and death. The extreme reaction from the callous mismanagement by Service Departments in the eighteenth century and after, up to the time of the Crimean War, and from the public indifference and contempt formerly manifested towards England's sailors and soldiers is in itself a measure of reproach. Scanty indeed was the gratitude displayed by our not remote forefathers towards those children of the field and of the workshop whose

The HON.BLE SR WM HOWE.
Knight of the Bath, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in America.
London, Published as the Act directs 10th Nov.r 1777 by JOHN MORRIS, Basinghall Place.

THE HONBLE. SIR WM. HOWE,
Knight of the Bath, and Commander of His Majesty's Forces in America.
Drawn and engraved by Corbutt, and published by John Morris, 10th November 1777.

blood cemented the Empire of Britain. Probably the most sinister feature of the systematic misrepresentations of the lives and conduct of our men has been the blackening of their characters by highly placed officers and Whig historians. The fact, however, remains that the Navy and Army of England, 'tween decks, on shore, in camp, or in barracks, reproduced in their speech, habits, behaviour, and ways of thought, the salient features of the coarse and violent society of which they were for the most part the unwilling defenders.

It is computed that in the summer of 1776 there were on duty in America, inclusive of 2000 marines, about 36,000 British and German men of all arms. The army in North America consisted of infantry and artillery and a handful of dragoons. Of army transport, of engineers and medical corps the British organisation began to show some elementary signs, of horse artillery the time was not yet. The German and Hessian contingent, 9000 strong, was on the whole better equipped according to the continental or Prussian model than was the British expeditionary force. Our army in those days and up to the end of the century was, as Mr. Clode points out, recruited by a system of irregular and unrecognised conscription; for compulsion by some means, whether by impressment or by kidnapping, was commonly employed to keep up to strength both the crews of men-of-war and the establishment of regiments. The *personnel* of the regiments being recruited from the ranks of the people represented both the qualities and defects of the century. Briefly, it may be said that the people of England, with their high Society included, have at no time in their history appeared in a guise so unlovely, so unmannerly, so coarse, and so cruel. Never have there been, whether in city or country, mobs so incredibly violent and ungovernable as the Porteous Mob in Edinburgh, as the Gordon Mob in London. At the date of the latter riots this country was on the verge of ruin. She was failing to suppress revolt in her

Mob Law.

1780.

American Colonies, and was at war with France, Spain, and Holland. Gibraltar, with difficulty, was resisting the attack of enemies who had good reason to consider this opportunity their final chance of recapturing the fortress; and the fleets of France and Spain dominated the English Channel. But no consideration of national distress and danger, with ruin imminent if not impending, checked either leaders of mobs, or aroused the magistrates to their duty, or silenced the factious opposition of the Whigs, or spurred the Ministry to immediate action. Nothing but the determination of George the Third and the vigorous rapidity of his measures for the safety of London rescued the metropolis from unbridled incendiarism and pillage. It is almost incredible that leading Whig peers, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Grafton, the Marquess of Lansdowne, in this time of tumultuous outrage, should have ventured to attack their Sovereign by moving a resolution of censure on Lord Amherst for calling out troops in obedience to his Sovereign's order, or that one of them should have opposed the use of troops to clear the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament from the menaces of a mob in which were to be found every scoundrel, gaol-bird, and thief in London outside the walls of Newgate. Nor were these riots, nominally Protestant in aim and purpose, confined to London. In both Glasgow and Edinburgh outbreaks of great violence had paralysed the life of these cities. Rightly or wrongly, it was understood that the sympathies of the great houses were with the purpose of these lawless movements. The Whigs had opposed the Emancipation of the Canadian Catholics, and had been hostile to removing the disabilities of the Roman Catholics in Great Britain. The Gordon Riots reached the highest mark of turbulence of a turbulent age, and the credit of checking the Sack of London, at a time when the Empire threatened to fall asunder, belongs neither to Parliament nor to the Ministry, but to the Crown. Thus in considering the *personnel* of

the Services, it has to be borne in mind that at no time in our annals has there been so much personal lawlessness associated with the most rigid interpretations of the letter of the law, so much writing and rhetoric about the blessings of freedom, so little practical enjoyment of personal liberty. The Foxes, the Chathams, the Burkes, the Wilkeses, the arrogant Lord Mayors of London and the Radical Freethinkers of Birmingham did absolutely nothing to alleviate the miseries of the people. Impressment, child labour, the infamous conditions of the prisons, the cruel hardness of the penal laws, the unreformed state of popular representation, and all other abuses, social or constitutional, were left untouched by highly placed Pharisees. Chatham and Barré defended the press-gangs, Burke opposed any reform of parliamentary representation. Fox was the founder of that school of politicians whose voice and hand are ever uplifted on behalf of every country but their own.[1] As the century advanced the statute book became more and more encumbered with savage penalties, chiefly that of death. Drunkenness, crimes of brutality, and callousness steadily increased, while the condition of the fatherless and the widow, the poor and helpless, grew steadily worse. Nor, until quite late in the century, was the social and moral decay arrested by the ministrations of any organised religious work. For more than seventy years no church or ecclesiastical edifice had been newly erected for pious uses.[2] The

Decay of Religion.

[1] Probably no other century of English high Society would have discovered in Charles James Fox the remarkable value and merits the high Society of the eighteenth century found in him. A recent writer says George III. was prejudiced against Fox, and then continues: "Fox's character, both public and private, was enough to make any man detest him. He was factious, dissolute, untrustworthy, a gambler, a voluptuary, a cynical sentimentalist, and a politician without principle or even scruple": here there seems to be reasonable ground for prejudice.—*Spectator*, 14th May 1910, p. 797.

[2] See for this period a valuable brief estimate of the times in *The Age of Revolution*, by W. H. Hutton, adverse to the reputation of the clergy and people of that day; on the contrary, Sir Walter

first two kings of the Hanoverian succession understood neither the English language, nor the English character, nor the English Church. They were both coarse-minded men, unhappy in their domestic concerns, men of evil lives and habits, careless of English opinions and convictions. Walpole's influence was exerted in the direction of suppressing all religious activity. In high ecclesiastical quarters religious controversy raged. Men of much learning and of high station wrote reams of stuff that the public, if it ever knew it, has been precipitate to forget, yet in these inky tournaments the religious activity of the disputants exhausted itself. Every one has heard of Butler's irony with respect to current views of Christianity.

"People of discernment," says the Bishop, "have agreed that Christianity is fictitious. Nothing now remains but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisal for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world."

Swift earlier in the century had written an ironical pamphlet to suggest that some inconvenience might ensue upon the total abolition of Christianity. Goldsmith's picturesque idyll of the amiable gentleman who figures as the Vicar of Wakefield is more appropriate to a stoical pagan society as imagined by Marcus Aurelius than to any system of Christian doctrine and practice. All observers seem to agree that public religion was stricken with palsy. Travellers from abroad generally noticed that any reference to Christianity was brushed aside with ridicule. Quite late in the century the Press of London denounced Porteous, Bishop of London, for holding a service in St. Paul's on Good Friday. Many of the leading statesmen of the century were infidels. Men like Sandwich, Grafton, Charles Fox, and Dashwood would in these

Besant's *London*, his chapter on Churches and Clergy. On the drunkenness, brutality, and disorder of the towns cf. Sidney and Beatrice Webb on *Local Government in the Eighteenth Century*, i. 358.

days be hounded out of public life for immorality. Yet the name of the Deity was constantly on the lips of public men whose blasphemous rhetoric reflected the standard taste of the times.[1]

Mr. Burke, of whom it was said that there were not twenty men in the House of Commons who could follow his arguments, was especially prone to such outbreaks of profanity. In 1767 he addressed the Treasury Benches as occupied by Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers who all veil their faces with their wings before the Great Being (Chatham), and then proceeded to urge that as arguments did not prevail, he would have recourse to prayer. He then parodied the language of a well-known collect of the English Prayer-book; he exhorted the Great Being (Chatham) to have respect to the works of his own hands as he ruled and governed all things. The Speaker, not relishing this form of humour, called him to order, on which Burke retorted that it was an infringement of his liberty and a persecution to interrupt him in his prayers.

Mr. Fox who graduated in the school of vice under the tutelage of his own father, and of that remarkable character the Earl of March and Ruglen, was equally notorious for his impious references.[2] And except for garnish of oaths and parliamentary imprecations, the name of the Deity was rarely heard in Society or by Society people. In smart circles obscene stories and obscene behaviour were among the accustomed delights. Great gentlemen made themselves the preceptors of the young in dicing, drinking, and drabbing.

"Lord Holland," says Sir George Trevelyan, "could think of nothing better than to take Charles (Fox) from his books and convey him to the continent on a round of idleness and

[1] A taste reflected in America. Samuel Adams, for instance, at the head of a letter addressed to Governor Gage, parodies the Baptism of Christ.

[2] In the Westminster Election of 1784, when Fox was returned as Junior M.P. for the Borough, his election placards consisted chiefly of parodies of Scripture passages.

dissipation. At Spa his amusement was to send his son every night to the gaming-table with a pocket full of gold, and the parent took no little pains to contrive that the boy should leave France a finished rake." (The boy was then fourteen.) "He was sent to Eton, and there," says his biographer, "his Parisian experiences, aided by an unbounded command of cash, produced a visible and durable change in the morals and habits of the place."

What a Telemachus and what a Mentor!

Such being among the notorious doings of high Society, it is reasonable to surmise that an irreligious and ignorant populace would echo the language and imitate the proceedings of their betters. Add to this evil influence the fact that the state of public instruction was deplorable. As late as 1810 the Bishop of Norwich stated publicly that there was no provision whatever for the education for at least two-thirds of the children of the labouring poor. Schools called charity schools, of which the children had to wear some kind of uniform of the Charitable Grinder type, were scattered over the land; but to have been educated at a charity school marked a man socially for the worse, and his place in common estimation was little superior to the boy whose childhood had been spent in a workhouse. There was little to choose between the Noah Claypoles and the Oliver Twists. Consequently in the towns, scenes of incredible violence and brutality were frequent. The culminating riots of this century have been graphically described by Charles Dickens in certain chapters, which by common consent embody all the terrible facts of the Protestant outbreak of 1780.

Of events less important but equally significant, are the coarse and brutal insults heaped upon the King himself; the unspeakable slanders on his mother the Princess of Wales, a woman for years tormented by an incurable disease; the Wilkes Riots; the Westminster Election of 1784,[1] which lasted from the beginning of April to the latter part of the next month of May. These facts speak for the lawlessness of the town mobs,

[1] Cf. Wright, *History of Caricature of the Four Georges*, p. 383.

and for the terror they inspired: for the country and provinces the Cider Riots, excited by a tax proposed on cider, furnish testimony how life, limb, and property lay at the mercy of uncontrollable violence.

From such social conditions was recruited the British Army of America. The voluntarily enlisted men were drawn from a proletariat of which, as has been pointed out, the condition steadily deteriorated as the century passed to its close. Of the involuntary men in the ranks or impressed soldiers some notice will be taken further on. Sir William Howe's reinforcements when newly arrived in Staten Island were called in certain correspondence, mere riff-raff. Wellington more than thirty years later spoke of his reinforcements in Spain as the scum of the earth. It became and remains a favourite phrase.[1] "The Scum of the Earth."

Whether the scum of the earth or not, the British soldier in America, and in Britain too, behaved very well. They kept their heads, and their tempers as well, when their civilian neighbours grossly failed. In all riots, whether in Boston or Glasgow or London, the honours for good conduct and self-restraint lie with the military. The army of 1776 compares very favourably with the army of 1810. As Mr. Fortescue most justly points out, the expeditionary forces in America were in no case guilty of such outrages and violence as ensued many times in the Peninsular War, notably after the capture of Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo. The British army was then in theory, as it is now in practice, a volunteer army; yet as has been mentioned above, the army was recruited either by conscription or by persuasion in the shape of large bounties. The pay was poor, the promotion slow, the service was traditionally unpopular. Ever since the military ascendancy under Cromwell, a soldier had been looked upon as the natural enemy of the liberties of the people. As a matter of fact, he was as often a peace-officer as a

[1] Burke called Middlesex Magistrates, the Scum of the Earth.—Speech in the House of Commons, 8th May 1780.

combatant of his country's foes. There being no police in any town, in the case of town riots the unwelcome duties of suppression and restoration of order were imposed on the troops. But such was the jealousy entertained towards the King's forces that if loss of civilian life ensued upon the execution of military duty the officer commanding was menaced by an indictment for murder. This was Preston's experience in Boston, as it had been the unhappy lot of Captain Porteous some years before in Edinburgh.[1]

Porteous was lynched by an Edinburgh mob notwithstanding that a regiment of the line was quartered in the Canongate close by, of which the colonel commanding refused to make use to suppress the rioters, unless he were furnished with a written order from a justice of the peace. But no written order reached him. To the traditional unpopularity due to these misapprehensions of a soldier's economic value was added the force of ridicule. The coarsest caricatures and abuse of a soldier's life abounded. In one of Gillray's sets of ill-natured and powerful illustrations John Bull is represented as seated by a huge kitchen fire in a Windsor chair, drowsy with food and warmth, grasping a big pot of beer. Behind him are seen, doing all the work of the house, the figures of his wife and daughter. In a second sketch John Bull is enticed by the sound of military music and copious beer to enlist. In a third picture his wife and daughter, both in a squalid and emaciated condition, are on the way to the pawnshop. In a fourth he returns with but one eye and one leg to find his home broken up, his wife dead, and his daughter on the streets.

With such obstacles to overcome as these, and with others of a kindred nature, it was impossible to keep

[1] The secret of the mob violence against Porteous appears to have been popular resentment because of Porteous's success in dealing with smuggling. Scotland at that time, like Boston, was "free trade" or contraband in feeling from the highest to the lowest.

the ranks of the army up to their standard[1] strength. Recourse was had to compulsion under legal forms (that is, conscription), or to actual violence. According to the practice of this century both statutes and common law authorised compulsory enlistment. "Any sturdy beggar, any fortune teller, any idle, unknown, or suspected fellow in a parish that cannot give an account of himself, he shall be taken *before* any one else," that is, for enlistment. After this class of man had been netted "any one who had been in gaol or before a justice of the peace shall be captured." Then any one "known as an incorrigible rogue, even if his wife and children come on the parish, because the parish will be glad to get rid of him." Poachers were enlisted with alacrity, because of their handiness with a gun. Convicts and prisoners of all kinds were freely enrolled in His Majesty's army.

Prior to the outbreak of the American War convicts were transported to the American Colonies, much on the same terms as controlled transportation to Botany Bay. They were sold under certain forms of law or indented to forced labour for long terms of years. There were few households from Massachusetts to Georgia which did not muster a slave or two of this class of white redemptioner.[2] But at the beginning of the war there was an end of conveying criminals to America. The question then came up as to the disposal of the contents of the overflowing prisons. It was proposed and adopted, that free pardon should be extended to convicts on condition of their enlistment in His Majesty's army. Care, however, was to be taken that no man was chosen unless he were suitable for a soldier's work. These recruits being strong men of active and ingenious minds turned out to be excellent soldiers. Three British regiments were constituted altogether of men who had seen the inside of a prison, of which one regiment became most distinguished. From

[1] Cf. Lord North to Sir William Howe, below, vol. ii. p. 161.

[2] Sometimes known as the "King's Emigrants."

1702 to 1815 the practice of enlisting men direct from prison prevailed. It is not, however, easy to trace either their number or their condition. When in 1812 it was proposed in Parliament there should be enquiry and report upon this matter, leave to proceed was refused. Paupers too were drafted by compulsion, yet this class of recruits was awarded a guinea as bounty money, and the constable who produced them for enlistment was presented with ten shillings. In 1795 the Cheshire Regiment (22nd), was ordered to recruit its ranks to 1000 rank and file with poor boys "from the Parish poorhouses, the age of the recruits being from twelve to sixteen." Even the parish charity schools in one East Anglian town at least were swept clean of the older boys as recruits. One regiment was thus constituted of boys of seventeen. All these facts make up material for a dark and dismal picture; but there are some high lights about the composition. Drilled blackguards are none the less blackguards because under the restraint of discipline, and their true nature shows itself either in the hour of intoxicating success, or in the time of disastrous failure; yet of the blackguard and cruel bully there are faint traces in the Army of the American War, neither after the capture of New York nor after the failure of Saratoga.

To account for this unquestioned fact it must be borne in mind that the eighteenth century created convicts and criminals on easier terms, and by quicker processes than the opinion of the twentieth century sanctions. Men and boys who in the eighteenth century ran the risk of the hangman, would under present conditions be dismissed with the option of a fine or fourteen days, or at least be placed under the provisions of the First Offenders Act. There were in 1776 nearly 200 offences incurring the penalty of death. Mary Jones, who was hanged in 1776 for fingering a roll of cloth on the outside counter of a Ludgate Hill tradesman, would probably at Guildhall in 1910 have been handed over to the care of the Court Missionary, with a dona-

tion of 10s. from the Court poor-box. The severity of penalties attendant on minor offences may be surmised from these leading features of a barbarous code.

"The hangman," says Dickens in a well-known passage, "ever busy and ever worse than useless, was in constant requisition, now stringing up rows of miscellaneous criminals, now hanging a housebreaker on Saturday who had been taken on Tuesday, to-day taking the life of an atrocious murderer, to-morrow of a wretched pilferer who had robbed a farmer's boy of sixpence."

Consequently the Colonists and prisoners of that century among their numbers contained many who, in these days of clearer estimation and milder methods, would have become good members of society. The case of Tasmania and New South Wales supplies useful illustration. Bishop Ullathorne in 1842 showed to demonstration before the House of Lords that hundreds of young men had been deported to Australasia for offences of no weightier significance than the wiring of a hare or the trapping of a pheasant. The men became in due time excellent citizens, and are numbered among the founders of the splendid Colony of New South Wales, of the beautiful farms and settlements of Tasmania.

It is a deduction from these facts and considerations that Howe's army, recruited according to these methods, was not on that account composed of the "scum of the earth," and that Mr. Lecky's oft-quoted reflections on the British army are not fully supported by unimpeachable evidence. He considers it a remarkable fact, as it would be remarkable were it a fact, that

. . . a large part of the reputation of England in the world rests upon the achievements of an army which was formed mainly out of the dregs of her population, and to some extent even out of her criminal classes.

His remarks bear very hardly on the 42nd, which on embarkation in 1776 contained, out of 1000 strong, 921 Highlanders; there being only three Englishmen

in the regiment, two Irish and one Welshman, the remainder being Lowland Scots: all men of good character.

According to the Draconian code of those days, our prisons were tenanted as much by the unfortunate as by the criminal, a fact to be borne in mind in the estimation of the general character of our soldiers.

These features of the social life of the eighteenth century did not encourage recruiting. Men live by opinion, and no man is eager to join a service which entails serious social disadvantages. Hence recruiting proceeded slowly.

The West Indies and America were, to English people of all classes, unknown lands. Geographically they were reckoned to be close together, and the deplorable reputation of the West Indies for discomfort, disease, and death was also imputed to the Atlantic Colonies. Regiments in the West Indies had been abandoned more than once by every commissioned officer from colonel to ensign, and the privates left to shift for themselves. It was also well understood that if a man would undertake to enlist for the West Indies he could secure for himself the remission of any sentence except that of death.[1] It is not, therefore, surprising that in any British cottage to go soldiering across the high seas was considered as leaving home for ever. Even to serve in Gibraltar was reckoned equivalent to penal servitude.

America was really a long way off. Sergeant Lamb, in his *Diary*, mentions forty days as the time occupied in sailing from the Cove of Cork to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. At the end of the fortieth day his ship made her first land-fall to the south of Cape Race.

[1] The prospect of service in the East still stimulates desertion and malingering while it retards recruiting. Cholera, sunstroke, snake-bites, and other incidentals of Eastern life are much dreaded, but more than all, the passage in transports to India, of which many stories of acute discomfort and harsh treatment still go abont. Old ships like the *Euphrates*, the *Sutlej*, the *Himalaya* are associated with tales none the less deterrent because they are probably untrue.

The discomforts of a sea voyage in those days cannot easily be exaggerated. The food was poor and often scanty; the quarters cramped, dirty, and ill-ventilated; the water rotten. No change for the better, either in pay or provisions, had affected the condition of warship or military transport since Pepys was Secretary of the Admiralty. The state of the diseased in the sick bay may best be appreciated from a well-known passage in *Roderick Random*. In the older ships there raged a fever known as ship-fever, while exposure to salt water and salt air induced a very hard, tenacious, and painful kind of boil. A non-commissioned officer of the Guards, going westward in the brigade despatched to reinforce Howe in Long Island, wrote of his experiences:

> There was continued destruction in the foretop, the pox above-board, the plague between-decks, hell in the forecastle, the devil at the helm.

From which bit of rhetoric it may be gathered that in a not very squeamish age an ordinary man of the people found life on board ship disgusting.[1]

In Ireland the Protestant ascendancy discouraged recruiting among the Irish peasantry. To teach the latter the use of arms was held to imperil the dominant Protestant cause. Earlier in the century, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Chesterfield, it was enacted that no Irishman, being a Roman Catholic, should be promoted out of the ranks, not even to lance rank, under any circumstances. The activity of recruiting sergeants in Ireland belongs to later years.[2]

It may also be worth mentioning that the notion of glory in connection with military service was somewhat in its infancy. The medals that now adorn the

[1] It is quite commonly said among men who in the 'sixties were sent to India in the old ships, like the *Sobraon*, that the food and water were of the vilest kind. The oldest ships were patched up as transports, which were for the most part unseaworthy, and saturated with disease.

[2] There were notwithstanding, five Irish Regiments, 5th, 6th, 8th Dragoons, and 18th and 27th Foot.

chest of a man who has been on campaign were not known to the ranks in 1775, nor indeed in 1815.[1]

The Waterloo medal presents the effigy of the Prince Regent, and the medal awarded for service during the Peninsular War that of Queen Victoria. The Peninsular medal, issued later than the Waterloo medal, has a clasp for Maida, a battle fought before the Peninsular War began. Neither was there any pension for wounds nor for retirement after long service, and glory achieved. Added to these facts, let it be remembered that after the Peace of Utrecht the British Parliament, under the direction of powerful Whig influence, had behaved to Marlborough and to Marlborough's army with neither justice nor mercy. The Whig peers, led by the Duke of Argyll, while cursing Marlborough by all their gods, had driven the victor of Blenheim and Ramilies into exile, and had broken most of his officers. The army itself was dispersed to swell the ranks of the unemployed, and increase the general mass of misery and despair. Such treatment is always resented and long remembered.

In this century Whig ascendancy was generally exerted to suppress or belittle both the soldier and the sailor. No one seems to have had a good word for the King's uniform; not the caricaturists, the Sayers, the Gillrays, the Rowlandsons, those terrible men of the pencil and brush; not even the men that wore it.

"I have a very mean opinion," says Colonel James Wolfe, writing to his father in 1755, "of the infantry in general. I

[1] Cf. John Horsley Mayo, *Medals of the British Army and Navy*, 2 vols., 1897. The first military medal awarded by the Crown was for Maida, 4th July 1806, given only to thirteen superior officers. There had been a Naval medal struck in 1794, in honour of Richard Howe's victory of the 1st of June. Wellington, writing to the Duke of York, 28th June 1815, suggested the expediency of awarding to all ranks a medal in honour of Waterloo. The Royal United Service Institution offers for public inspection, in the great Banqueting Hall of Whitehall, a complete collection of British medals, arranged under the supervision of Lieut.-Col. Leetham.

know their discipline to be bad, and their valour to be precarious. They are easy to put into disorder, and hard to recover out of it. They frequently kill their officers through fear, and murder each other in the confusion. I am sorry to say that our method of training and instructing the troops is extremely defective, and tends to no good. We are lazy in times of peace, and, of course, want vigilance and activity in times of war. Our military education is the worst in Europe, and our concerns are treated with contempt."

As to the killing or murder of officers in action, no infantry in Europe was clear of that suspicion. Of Lannes' action of Montebello in 1800 (7th June) it was commonly reported, that the infantry of the French line murdered nearly all their officers. Stories of the same dark complexion are to this day current in regiments serving in India. The concluding sentence of Wolfe's criticism expresses a feeling that British officers have a thousand times taken occasion to utter.

That there is still lurking in the breast of Englishmen an idea that soldiers are the willing instruments of tyranny, is beyond doubt. This dread of a professional army is even stronger in the United States than it is in Great Britain, and furnishes proof, were proof necessary, how slowly popular prejudices perish. What, however, are we to say of those servants of the public who express themselves in terms of contempt about colleagues because the latter formerly served their country in the field?

However, the recruit, whether for regiment or ship, might have reflected that the scorn of his fellow-countrymen was a small matter compared with the terrors of the services themselves. Nelson reckoned that an able-bodied healthy seaman's life averaged little over forty years; while a man in either service was beset by other enemies than those of his country; and these were typhus, pneumonia, rheumatic fever, epilepsy, drink, scurvy, and the surgeon. During the Seven Years' struggle between France and England for Canada, ending in 1763, it was computed that, while

only 1512 men were killed in action, no less than 134,000 died of diseases or mismanaged wounds.[1]

Such, then, were the miserable prospects and the unhappy lot of the private soldier of the eighteenth century. Under these burdens the thanks of his fellow-countrymen might have sustained him; but, more than thirty years after the completion of the struggle in America, Southey records in his *Commonplace Book* that in the sister and senior service of the navy it was a saying: "A messmate before a shipmate, a shipmate before a stranger, a stranger before a dog, and a dog before a soldier," and one may surmise this saying to have been a brief exposition of the general estimate of a soldier. A recruiting officer consequently found his labours almost as fruitless as those of Sisyphus. Parish officers were offered a fee of three pounds a head for every man enlisted, the recruiting sergeant a reward of a guinea, and the recruit himself tempted by a substantial bounty, but in vain, for provincial newspapers, with rude woodcuts and rough satire, endeavoured to deter, either by ridicule or terror, any man from joining the King's army.

A popular Oxford magazine of 1770 contained a picture which seems to have been highly appreciated. Enter: a poor maimed wretch, helping himself with crutches, saying, "Thirty years have I served, and you see what I have come to." In the front of the picture is a recruiting officer endeavouring to persuade recruits to accept the King's shilling, but apparently with little success. Similar pictures in other prints contributed to check all recruiting operations.

## II.

Strength of the Army 1775.

The strength of the army in Great Britain in 1775 having been fixed at 17,508 was composed of:

[1] In the Russo-Japanese War (1905), it is calculated that the proportion of Japanese men who perished from non-military causes was *one* in four.

*In Great Britain.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Life Guards and cavalry . . . | 4,145 |
| Infantry . . . . . | 13,363 |
| Total . . . | 17,508 |

To these add forces :

*Overseas.*

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) In Gibraltar . . . . . | 3,339 |
| In Minorcas . . . . . | 2,385 |
| In West Indies . . . . | 2,386 |
| In North America . . . . | 11,736 |
| In Africa . . . . . | 214 |
| Total . . . | 37,568 |
| (*b*) Ireland . . . . . | 12,007 |
| Grand total at home and abroad | 49,575[1] |

Let us call it 50,000 men. How the press-gangs managed to fill up the ships and the regiments to strength will be spoken of further on.

On 8th November 1775, the Minister stated in the House of Commons that all his exertions had failed in recruiting the army to its requisite strength. The bounty had been raised, the standard lowered, and attempts had been made to enlist even Roman Catholics, and to incorporate foreigners singly into English regiments, but all his expectations had been disappointed. No system of bounties, not the three pounds for the line, or six pounds for the Guards, no enforcement of the Vagrancy Acts, nor all the blandishments of the recruiting sergeants availed. It was said for party purposes by partisans, that the American War itself

[1] MS. Book of His Majesty's establishments of land forces and garrisons in March 1775, inclusive of the 41st Regiment, in the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall. Observe, the 41st Regiment was a corps of invalids; perhaps the only provision at that time for the maintenance of men recovered from wounds or sickness incurred in service.

excited the aversion of the class from which recruits are commonly drawn.[1] It may, however, be observed that from 1715 to 1900 there has been the same almost insurmountable objection to military service.

If the bounty of £3 did not fill up the complement of British regiments in 1775, neither did the bounty of £22, offered in 1900 as an inducement over and above the military pay, to veterans invited to serve but one year, succeed in bringing in an adequate number; for the War Office, though offering every accepted man £22 as a bounty or bribe, secured the enlistment of only a fraction out of the total required. England has always suffered under her nominal voluntary system, both by being unprepared for emergencies, and by having to pay vast sums for service and material, required in emergencies.

Employment of Hired Armies.

The King, in 1775, was fully and keenly conscious of the perils of the situation. He had again and again drawn attention to the miserable weakness of the army. His representations had all been to no purpose. He quickly solved the difficulty by adopting counsel which, from the time of Marlborough down to the raising of the foreign legion for the Crimean War, has frequently been pursued by the military administration of Great Britain; and as Englishmen seemed to be as unready to serve in America as Americans were unwilling to serve against England, the Crown had recourse to aid from abroad. Three German princes offered the King the services of their subjects at an annual sum for every man accepted. Much has been written and said about the policy of the taking into British pay of German mercenaries, while the resulting clamour, both in England and America, suggested that no such measure had been previously adopted by an English monarch. Yet Englishmen and Scotsmen and Irishmen had served for pay in foreign armies, and foreigners had served in the English army, so frequently as to render this

December 1854.

[1] As much as £15 was offered in vain in 1783, *after the American War was over.*

particular measure of hiring German troops only the latest of a long series of such contracts.

George the Second, good Hanoverian that he was, thought Hanoverian troops the finest in the world, and induced his British Ministers to take 16,000 of them on hire.[1] This contract was made without consulting Parliament. In 1757, in the plans submitted for the break up of the French sovereignty in America, when it was resolved not to continue the policy of attacking isolated posts like Ticonderoga, but to concentrate all efforts on the capture of Quebec, it was suggested to employ foreign troops, but the suggestion was laid aside, not for any idea of the impolicy of using foreign troops, but because foreigners had no experience of forest warfare.

After the Seven Years' War terminated, the Netherlands, the Rhine provinces, all that part of the Continent known in former times as the cockpit of Europe, swarmed with old soldiers, survivors of camp and campaign; broken men, adventurers ready to accept any prince's bounty, equally ready to desert his service for a higher bribe. Certain parts of Northern Europe swarmed with spies, crimps, and decoys of all sorts and conditions.

"The great and illustrious Frederick," says Thackeray, "had scores of these white slave dealers all round the frontiers of his kingdom, debauching troops, kidnapping peasants, and hesitating at no crime to supply those brilliant regiments of his with food for powder."

The French army, too, at least the regiments on the Rhine border, were kept up to strength in a similar fashion. Compulsory service, indeed, was everywhere forced upon unfortunate or poor men. The press-gangs of Great Britain come into line, in this respect, with the measures directed by a Louis or a Frederick. George III., being a Continental monarch, as well as

[1] Cf. *The Case of the Hessians in the Pay of Great Britain*, London, 1731 (R. Franklin, Russell Street, London).

a British sovereign, might reasonably expect the public to approve of his defending any part of his dominions with troops drawn from any other part; or by troops raised and maintained according to any scheme prevailing in any part of his dominions; but he refused to sanction the use of crimps, decoys, and white slave dealers according to the use of the great Frederick, the Protestant hero, at the time when *Junius*, Chatham, and other preachers of liberty were justifying the proceedings of the British press-gangs. The King went into the open market for troops on the Continent, much as a Yorkshire farmer might attend the hiring fair at Doncaster. The King's brother-in-law, Charles, Duke of Brunswick, had troops for hire, and Great Britain was willing to pay for them. The Duke made a good bargain for them and for himself.

The Landgrave of Hesse was the overlord of thousands of well-disciplined and well-trained men. There was no business stirring on the Continent. Being himself a smart man at a deal, and with 12,000 men to let, he secured very advantageous terms. Cannon, accoutrements, and equipment were included in the bargain, as well as the services of some very able officers. Both officers and men were quite satisfied with the arrangement. His own profits, expressed annually in crowns, reached six figures, from which, with frugal management, the Landgrave was able to pay off all his debts, as well as to beautify and augment his town and palace of Cassel.[1]

At this measure the Whig magnates and their henchmen were filled with indignation. The Duke of Grafton found himself the victim of pungent anxiety; he predicted inevitable ruin; he had prayed, he said,

[1] It is well known that in 1775, Lord Dartmouth entertained strong hopes of getting 20,000 Russians from the Great Catharine. He wrote to Howe (marked *Secret*) that he "had an assurance from the Empress of Russia, that she would give any number of infantry that might be wanted, and that a requisition had been made for 20,000 men." Cf. the copy in the Record Office, America and West Indies, 431, fol. 75.

that this thing might not come to pass. The exemplary Grafton engaged in prayer suggested to those who knew him a moving picture.

Mr. Burke, in a maintained innuendo, aimed, if not at the King, then at some purely imaginary person, wrote an open letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, declaring :

> I cannot conceive any existence under Heaven (which in the depths of its wisdom tolerates all sorts of things) that is more odious and disgusting than an impotent and helpless creature without civil wisdom or military skill, without a consciousness of any qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles he is not to fight, contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise, and satisfied to be himself mean and miserable in order to render others contemptible and wretched.

He also told the citizens of Bristol that the Liberal Government of a free nation was supported by the hireling swords of German boors and vassals, collected from twenty hireling states.

In another open letter to the Colonists of North America he expressed his shame at the introduction of foreign mercenaries into America (the Americans at that time being themselves engaged in securing foreign mercenaries in any number on any terms), and he deplores the fact that African slaves " purchased with honest American money " should be employed (by the King) " to cut the throats of their masters " ; slaves at the same time being numerous in the ranks of the Continental (American) army.

But the Whigs had lost the public ear. They represented, as pure Whigs still represent, an unalloyed oligarchy. They talked a great deal about liberty, but it was their own liberty everywhere within the envied condition of the *beati possidentes*. When liberty was claimed by the people outside their own paddock, they felt with Mr. Burke, that liberty to be enjoyed by the people must suffer many restrictions. In this spirit they had resisted the Quebec Act, and were opposed to the

emancipation of Roman Catholics. In the same spirit they were lukewarm advocates of any extension of the franchise. Mr. Burke's speech in 1782 against any reform of the Representatives of the Commons in Parliament, is the strongest indictment of the Reform movement.

"It is," said he, "for fear of losing the inestimable treasure that we have, that I do not venture to game it out of my hands for the vain hope of improving it. . ."

Probably as the villagers and townsfolk of those times were generally both coarse and ignorant, the Whigs and Mr. Burke, who thought and spoke for his party, were prudent in resisting reform, for there were whole villages in which no one possessed a copy of the Bible, nor could read its pages.

Under such circumstances it is admissible that no administrative or economical advantage might ensue on a popular extension of the franchise. At any rate, the great Whig families, the great manufacturers and merchants, managed both to check reform and to annex all the fat things going. The Government contracts and special jobs fell into their hands. They bought up the State loans under advantageous conditions, and surrounded themselves with a cloud of sycophants and place-men, who being kept in receipt of pensions and sinecures and backstairs offices, earned their pay occultly, as Tadpole and Taper like to earn money.

It is probably in this direction that lay the factious opposition to the employment of Hessian or German troops by the Crown and Parliament for the successful prosecution of the British operations in the American Colonies.

The contract with German princes excluded by its terms any share in the profits of the transaction coming in the way of Whig magnates and mercantile capitalists. Among men who for years had been accustomed to take toll of all the good things going when Government was spending money, the contemplation of any harvest

being under the management of German operators, aroused feelings of great distress and resentment.

Consequently, when nineteen Whig nobles, of whom were prominent the Dukes of Devonshire, Richmond, and Portland, the Marquess of Rockingham, and the Lords Torrington, Fitzwilliam, Stamford, Abingdon, and Craven, entered their protest against the use of foreign troops in domestic quarrels, their action excited no corroborative sentiment in the minds of the people. The main point of the protest appears to have urged the danger and disgrace of a measure which introduced the use of foreign troops into domestic quarrels. But with the precedent of the introduction of Dutch troops at the instance of Whig Lords to settle the domestic quarrels of 1688, the protest of the Duke of Portland at least was thought to be ungracious. Among the fishers in troubled waters the Bentincks were generally supposed to have been not unsuccessful, in consequence of the introduction of themselves into the settlement of the British domestic troubles of 1688. Besides this consideration there remained the fact that opinion in the eighteenth century generally supported the idea that a man might betake himself with his sword to any service where fighting was going forward with a fair prospect of pillage. Thus, English admirals and English captains were in Russian pay in the Russian fleets of 1768. To say nothing of the large contingents of foreign troops in British pay in the Peninsula in 1814—an arrangment quite justifiable on other grounds —there were in the American ranks, under the command of Washington, from first to last, at least 27,000 men sent out from France—foreign troops introduced by the Americans into the settlement of a domestic quarrel. In fact, during this century, for various contingencies, Germans were hired by the British Crown for military services. In 1787, under a bargain with the reigning Sovereign of Hesse Cassel, and again in 1794, when Great Britain was in severe difficulties about the making up of her army, Hessians were quartered in the Isle of 1776.

Wight, as they had been previously at different times in Weymouth, Winchester, and Maidstone. Of their behaviour in these places most favourable reports were received. That the Whigs should find in these precautions for the national safety an insidious attack upon liberty was to be expected. Perhaps visitors to our southern beaches may have noticed here and there the little round towers, called Martello towers, and may have heard they were built early in the nineteenth century, in view of the projected invasion of this country by Napoleon; and if he knows anything about Mr. Fox, he will not be surprised to hear that even in these little stone cylinders, that patriot discovered with alarm a danger to the freedom of the people.

The Hessians or Germans proceeded Americawards, under the command of men like Rahl and Riedesel, and Knyphausen, and Van Donop. For many of them the day of sailing from Stade was a day to be marked with white chalk. King George was a kind employer. He catered for them liberally, they were fed, lodged, and clad on a scale of comfort, and paid at a rate of pay higher than was customary in the "hireling provinces."

The powers on both sides of the ocean seemed to be anxious to make their acquaintance. On arrival in America, Congress offered them a warm welcome. All Germans were at once invited to desert and become good American citizens.

Congress resolved that:

> These States will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of His Britannic Majesty in America, and shall chuse to become members of any of these States, and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights and privileges and immunities of natives as established by the laws of those States, and, moreover, that this Congress will provide for every such person fifty acres of unappropriated lands in some of those States to be held by him and his heirs as absolute property.

Literature, too, intended to seduce Hessians from their duty, was distributed freely. That Hans from

Wolfenbüttel should carry arms against the free American excited in the breasts of patriots and their British sympathisers a frenzy of indignation, but that Hans, after a free passage to America, should face round on his employers and kill them in defence of American liberty, seemed to be appropriate to the general scheme of things reasonable. For while denouncing the British Nero for hiring alien troops, Patriots strove with every nerve to secure, quite early in the struggle, the services of foreigners and the help of France.

"Congress," says Dr. Hatch, "gave high rank to worthless adventurers, thereby incurring unnecessary expense and disgusting American officers. . . . They obtained, however, some good men who proved brave and enterprising field officers, such as Armand Fleury and Plessis, engineers like Kosciusko and Du Portail, and a courageous and experienced general, Kalb. More important than all and outweighing the mischief of all the unlucky foreign appointments, Congress accepted the services of Steuben and Lafayette, one of whom trained the army; the other cemented the French alliance." [1]

So far, therefore, as the employment of mercenaries in the struggle incurs censure, both parties come into court with equally clean (or soiled) hands.

It was a by-product of these transactions that America made the better bargain. Except at Fort Washington misfortune dogged the German troops, for they became prisoners of war at Trenton, at Saratoga, at Yorktown, while among their officers none compares favourably with Steuben, Kalb, or Lafayette. As to deserters, Greene used to say that his army was chiefly composed of British soldiers, that is, of Germans formerly in British pay.[2]

## III.

Commissions by Purchase.

The methods of conferring commissions in the army of Britain in 1776 present many features of interest.

[1] Hatch, *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*, p. 70.

[2] Saying imputed to Greene in 1781, during his conduct of the American campaign in the Carolinas; cf. Johnson, ii. 220.

At a time when none but artillerymen had any special military training, when youngsters were transferred direct from the fifth form of a public school to carry the King's colours of a regiment serving abroad, the modes of appointment and promotion were full of surprising anomalies. First to be noticed were the infants in arms or toddlers about nurseries (if there were in those days nurseries), who being lieutenants or captains, as the case may be, drew public money as pay for services rendered. "Which of the children is crying?" asks the anxious mother of the well-known Irish legend, "Faix, Ma'am, it's the Major tumbled out of his cradle," is the reply. Throughout all this century, from a little after the accession of the first Hanoverian king, down to the time of Frederic, Duke of York, the custom of giving commissions to infants was covered by statute.[1]

The idea apparently was to make some provision for the fatherless children of distinguished or favourite officers, by securing to them the annual pay and allowances of a commission, but the Duke of York when Commander-in-Chief swept away this anomaly by superseding these infant captains and lieutenants. On the other hand, the appointments to field-rank were denounced as political jobs.

Chesterfield, in 1758, wrote about the army to his son:

> Unfortunately the point of profit is more important than the point of honour with our military dignitaries. Provided they can avoid defeat, they are ready also to avoid victory, as either event would deprive them of their incomes.

Earlier in the century the Duke of Argyll had said:

> To gratify the leaders of the Ministerial party, the most despicable triflers are exalted to authority, and those whose want

[1] Clode, ii. 93. Note, however, the grant of commissions to infants was forbidden by Royal Authority in 1711, but the custom was found to be stronger than Royal Authority. It remained in force for another century.

of understanding excludes them from any other employment are selected for military commissions.

Both of these utterances may be due to spleen, disappointment, or vanity, but the essence of them is apparently quite true. In other words, to pitchfork the knave or the fool of the family into a commission in the army was the whole duty of a thoughtful parent. Parliament, at that time, was based upon the settled convictions and practices of the well-to-do. Parliamentary ideas as to the value of money in promotion of political ends are reflected in the sanction of the anomalous custom of military promotion by purchase in all cavalry and infantry regiments.

This practice or custom was intensely offensive to the royal family of Hanover.

George the First was a keen and conscientious soldier, who through being under the influence of German methods and procedure, was fussy over a button or a loop, yet proved a clear-headed man as to the essentials of military efficiency. He, consequently, did his best to abolish purchase in the army. Hence, in 1715, he forbade all sales of commissions except by officers who had purchased, and the price of such a commission on sale was strictly limited to the original cost price. But the custom of England was too strong even for him. Commissions might not be cancelled without some tariff of redemption, but the Commons, it was understood, would resist the granting of money to compensate officers for the surrender of their commissions. Other attempts were made to abolish purchase in the army, and the opinions of the Duke of Cumberland, hostile to the practice, were expressed in the florid language of that really able and conscientious man. As Commander-in-Chief he found almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of promoting young officers of ability. With men of ninety years or children of nine years, or even as in a well-known case, a lunatic under control, in "command" of regiments (some fruits of the purchase system), a

Commander-in-Chief found himself occasionally in an *impasse*. Subsequently, the Duke of Cumberland, like his father George I., found himself compelled to make the best of a bad system, which proved to be too tenacious for any reformer. Probably the compensation offered under any contract the Commons were likely to sanction, would have been small. Lord Barrymore's famous demand for £3500 to release him from a debt contracted by him for regimental clothing, with £2362 lost by the mismanagement of an agent, both amounts to be added to the price of his commission, may serve to illustrate the difficulties attending the buying in of commissions by the Treasury.

Official ascendency of the Guards.

Anomalous, too, was the influence through the purchase system, of men holding commissions in the King's Guards. In 1775 the Brigade of Guards formed a larger proportion of the strength of the army than is now the case. A captain of the Household troops ranked as a lieutenant-colonel of a line regiment. The officers of the Guards had generally better birth, had more money, and enjoyed more frequent opportunities of pushing these advantages than had the line regimental officers. Consequently, high commands were usually plums for a Guardsman's consumption. In 1769 out of every twelve men holding commissions in the army, one was a Guardsman ; while out of every three men commanding regiments, one had been a Guardsman. It was quite well understood to be almost fruitless for an officer of the line to look for promotion if an officer of the Guards was anywhere in view : a grievance sorely felt throughout all the marching regiments. Colonel Wolfe of Kingsley's, for instance, was Major-General Wolfe in Canada, but was Colonel Wolfe on the home establishment at the time of his death. And Ruville makes some pungent remarks about the treatment of this illustrious man's reputation by the Wenhams of the period. Speaking of the national elation at the capture of Quebec, he says :

General Wolfe.

From the Painting by J. S. G. Schaak in the National Portrait Gallery.

It is remarkable that in the general delight comparatively little account was taken of the man to whom success was due, and who had sacrificed his life in this endeavour . . . Political sympathy was so scanty that his mother was obliged to apply for a pension personally to meet her son's liabilities.

He took no part in politics, and had no relations with leading politicians. Unlike Gage, Howe, Clinton, Rodney, Keppel, Palliser, and Burgoyne in their day, he had no seat in the House of Commons. Hence party politicians belittled his memory to augment the fame of their political military friends. They asserted that the plan for the capture of Quebec was none of his devising; that his reputation was built on the foundations laid by other men. Wolfe had not held a commission in the Guards. The second battalion of the 67th Regiment, formed in consequence of his conspicuous bravery at Louisberg gave him a rank in the establishment above which he did not live to rise. Wolfe's father was a general officer without social influence. André, Gates, Charles Lee, Montgomery, Amherst and other Englishmen, whose names are prominent in the American Wars of this century, belonged to families of the well-to-do middle class. The names of officers serving in the less known regiments in Howe's army were such as Myers, Payne, Piper, Gamble, Hutchinson, Savage, Bailey, Durnford. These names, taken from the authentic regimental lists of 1776, belong to families of the yeoman freeholder or the mercantile class. On the other hand, Howe, Burgoyne, Gage, Keppel, Clinton, Rawdon, Rodney, Barrington belonged to ancient or ennobled families; men, as Mr. Acres says, with ancestors in the militia. These and others form the class of political admirals and generals and colonels of whom, during this century, we hear so much. Thinking of such men, Lord North uttered his now famous saying, that he feared the English generals more than he did the enemy. Actuated perhaps by some such thought, Burke used to resist the formation of new regiments, apprehending that for every regiment another

colonel would be glaring at him from the opposite benches of the House of Commons.

Barracks. To a public so conversant with the care for the British soldier now manifested by men and women of every class and rank, by Queen Alexandra in her august place; by that venerable and exemplary lady who was among the first[1] to find out the social and economical value of the British soldier; and by that other lady who, in Portsmouth, is so careful of the welfare of the British sailor; and by Earl Roberts; and by a host of other good women and men, it is almost incredible with what neglect the British soldier of the eighteenth century was treated. He was housed in a few barracks scattered about the country: small places, ill-found and ill-adapted for the accommodation of troops. Among these were some disused castles, poor cramped buildings like St. Mawes opposite Falmouth, Hurst Castle and Pendennis Castle, Calshot on Southampton Water, a construction so tiny that it easily escapes the notice of an ordinary traveller; Blackness on the Forth, better known probably as a state prison for Jacobites; Landguard at the mouth of the Orwell, and Upnor Castle on the Medway, still used as barracks, with some others. These castles from their distribution were, as will be noticed, somewhat inaccessible except by sea, and the duty of the men detached to such places was apparently that of coastguards or preventive police. The size and convenience of these homes for our defenders may be conjectured from the allowance for fire and candle, which in these establishments, to warm and light up the whole building, ranged from one

[1] Miss Florence Nightingale in 1854 did not revolutionise a system of hospital organisation; there was no organisation to work upon. She practically created the army hospital system as now carried on. To her is owing the inception of the Geneva Convention and the Badge of the Red Cross, now everywhere recognised as the badge of neutrality. Mr. Sidney Herbert's famous letter to Miss Nightingale was that of a statesman. He offered her an absolutely free hand both as to money and to the control of her staff. How Miss Nightingale executed her trust is a matter of common knowledge.

shilling to sevenpence a day. There were, however, good barracks at Plymouth (the citadel eastward of the Hoe being among the finest), at Portsmouth, at Sheerness, Hull, and at Berwick-on-Tweed. In Scotland troops found quarters in Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, Blackness, and in five other places. In places unprovided with barracks, such as Lewes, Tunbridge Wells, Totnes, Barnet, Margate, Huntingdon, Tamworth, and Romford, regiments were billeted about and the officers quartered at the numerous inns and better-class taverns. Sometimes, as in Lewes, temporary quarters were run up. Thus the soldier of that day was a homeless man. The married quarters, the well-ordered, clean, and roomy homes of the senior non-commissioned officers were quite unknown. Married men in barracks, even in comparatively recent years, found no more privacy for their wives, children, and themselves than the seclusion of a blanket or two strung up at the corner of a long dormitory occupied by some fifty men. The canteen, the billiard-room, the coffee shop, the library, the reading-room, the club life of a modern regiment, lay beyond the dreams of any man. In places where billeting on householders was compulsory, the presence of troops excited resentment, and certainly the intrusion of a man drawn from a prison or workhouse into the home of a quiet citizen of a small borough would arouse much irritation. Neither host nor guest desired the company of the other. Nothing could have been more contributory to the unpopularity of soldiering than the billeting system.[1]

The commissioned officers had no mess, at any rate not on the club model now prevailing. They spent

[1] According to a Return of His Majesty's Forces in 1781, the foot regiments in England were quartered at Windsor, Richmond, Buckingham, Lewes, Newcastle, Barnet, Tamworth, Romford, York, Huntingdon, Totnes, Dover Castle, Margate, Tunbridge Wells, Plymouth, Hilsea, Fort Cumberland, Winchester, Ipswich, and Maidstone, in which places some sort of barracks accommodation was provided.

their time, if they were obscure men, either with their mistresses or in drinking, gambling, quarrelling, and duelling; if ambitious men, they quitted their commands to push their fortunes at court or take their pleasure. Burgoyne left America for the winter 1775-76 to attend his duties in the House of Commons, Cornwallis was about to leave America for the winter 1776-77 when he was recalled to the front at Christmas by the disaster to the German troops at Trenton. Howe liked to take his ease at his inn whether in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. Officers saw very little of their men. A formal parade for about an hour comprised all official duties of the day. Consequently the non-commissioned officers reigned supreme. That they could and frequently did make a man's life more intolerable than a mongrel's is beyond question; that to quite recent times, notwithstanding the vigilance and diligence of regimental officers, there has been bullying and tyranny in the army is equally certain. For this abuse of power men took their own dark revenge. Wolfe says that in his army men shot their officers in action. Similar assertions, not advanced on such high authority, are current still in certain regiments. Stories of the Indian frontier assign the fate of some non-commissioned officers to the vengeance of revengeful privates.

Drinking habits.

Added to these circumstances were the drinking habits of the century. Everywhere the English-speaking races succumbed to a great wave of the drinking custom. Every man in the British Army was familiar with wine-bibbing and pot-tossing. There were senior captains whose capacity for drink was not measurable by bottles. There were men in the ranks who tossed off raw new rum by the tumbler. Madame de Riedesel is responsible for the scandalous statement that Burgoyne sought oblivion in drink every night during the closing days of his disastrous campaign of Saratoga. As every one drank to excess, the Ministers of the Crown, the Pitts, the Graftons, the Foxes, as

well as high military officers, the Braddocks, the Howes, and the Burgoynes, intoxication in both services, navy and army alike, was too common to attract special reproach. Thus, for the commissioned officer without powerful friends and with little money, the army offered little expectation of promotion and very little occupation even in the way of routine. The veteran of Louisberg and Quebec, of Dettingen and Minden had nothing to display on the lapel of his coat to signify on what field his honourable scars were won, in what campaigns his war-weary face had confronted the perils of battle. Wolfe had served at the age of sixteen at Dettingen, fought at Minden, commanded a brigade at Louisberg, yet when struck down at Quebec no decorative ribbon or medal or star signalised the acknowledged services of the warrior.

It has already been mentioned above how that after the battle of Waterloo, Wellington wrote to the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, to recommend the giving of a medal to every man engaged in that battle. The suggestion was adopted, and with that caution the nation has reason to admire in the doings of the War Office, the precedent of Waterloo was put into practice thirty-two years later when the Horse Guards proclaimed on 1st July 1847 that, counting forwards from the date of the battle of Maida in 1806, "every man surviving is to get a medal where a medal had already been struck in honour of a battle and given to certain high officers." So belated was the honour paid to the veterans of Maida, a battle fought forty-one years before! June 28, 1815.

On retiring from the service the grizzled and battle-worn major had not the luxury of a service club, in which tired and disillusioned men find consolation in comparing slights and grievances and hardships. Consequently officers of ordinary marching regiments in the eighteenth century constituted a class apart. They were isolated men of quaint speech and customs, addicted to swearing and perhaps to more drink than

is now approved; men who read a good deal of older military literature, but were somewhat rusty as to the letters of the time, and antiquated in manner.[1] All these men on service appear to have undergone hardships incredible to an age which recalls certain equipments for officers' messes and catering in 1899 at the outbreak of the Boer War; but they accepted the hardships inseparable from campaigning in a leisurely and philosophical spirit.

Madame de Riedesel and Major André have each of them left memoirs and correspondence full of good things about the unofficial life of the army officer. Madame was wife of Baron de Riedesel, one of the commanders of the German contingent with Burgoyne. Major André belonged to Sir William Howe's *family* in Philadelphia. Madame followed her husband from Wolfenbüttel and came by way of London to Quebec to join him and Burgoyne's field force in 1777, bringing with her three children, of whom the eldest was five years, the youngest five months, when she left Europe for America. During her campaigning experience she bore two more children, of whom one she called America, the other Canada, in honour and memory of the country of their birth. She took with her a man-servant, two maid-servants, a calash and horses. She found the manners of the officers uncouth, and considers the paymaster of the German contingent a most ungentlemanly person. She dines where and how she can because there was no regular supply of food and apparently no regular organization for commissariat. The commissary is a complaisant gentleman, whose wife has also followed her husband to the wars, but she, according to Madame Riedesel, in the many absences of her husband, solaces the idle moments of General Burgoyne.

After the battle of Bennington, "an unfortunate engagement" the Baroness calls it (yet as it is an ill wind that blows nobody good), there ensued to the

[1] Captain Shandy, however, appears to have been a gentleman of letters.

General and his spouse three weeks of delightful tranquillity. The battle of Bennington was a serious reverse for the British arms, but as the loss fell chiefly on the German troops doubtless General Riedesel, who took no part in the engagement, stood in need of a holiday. The story is quite naturally told.

In the afternoon we (that is, the lady, her three children, three servants, and probably a subaltern officer in charge) set forward on our journey in a chaise and reached Fort Edward on the same day (14th August). My husband had left this 1777.
place on the preceding day with the army, but as soon as he received intelligence of our arrival he came back (on the 15th) and remained with us till the 16th, on which day he was obliged to rejoin his troops, but in consequence of the unfortunate engagement at Bennington I had the pleasure to see him again on the 18th, from which day we passed three weeks in delightful tranquillity. . . . A few days after my arrival at Fort Edward news was received that we were cut off from Canada. . . . We passed very happily three weeks together. There were, if I remember right, four or five aides-de-camp. While of evenings the gentlemen played cards, I took care that my children retired to rest. . . .

This is surely a charming and idyllic picture. This German Hector leaves the front to visit his Andromache and his daughter Astyanassa, entrusting his troops to the care of the forests; and after a great, and before a greater disaster spends three weeks in tranquil enjoyment of domestic peace, his evenings pleasantly occupied with cards. This three weeks' picnic in the woods, during which Madame tasted for the first time bear's flesh and found it delightful, terminated about the 9th September, a date which brings matters close to the operations which unhappily concluded with the capture of the whole of Burgoyne's forces at Saratoga, Madame de Riedesel and the babies included.

It may be observed that this devoted lady brought out with her a large stock of wine for the General's consumption as well as other comfortable things. She says that in the camp all the military projects and

details were known to the ladies accompanying the army, and were topics of common conversation.

"I observed with surprise," she says, "that the wives of the officers were beforehand informed of all the military plans, . . . thus the Americans anticipated all our movements and expected us wherever we arrived, and this of course injured our affairs."

Whether espionage or the uncontrollable clack of tongues caused the plans of the British General to be common knowledge is unimportant, but it is certain that Burgoyne's projected operations were discussed in detail in Montreal before he issued them in Orders.

"We have more dangerous enemies at home than we have abroad," says Lieutenant Anburey, "for all the transactions that are to take place are publicly known long before they are officially given out . . . for the whole operations of the ensuing campaign were canvassed for several days before he (Burgoyne) arrived, who no doubt supposed that in giving out his orders he was communicating an entire secret."

That men's wives accompanied their husbands into action not unseldom is fairly well authenticated. Madame de Riedesel herself was under fire more than once in the later days of Burgoyne's Expedition from Canada. At the battle of Bennington a sergeant's wife stood by her man all during the action, and brought him away it appears, when wounded, from under fire. The case of Lady Harriet Acland, after the second battle of Freeman's Farm, has been the subject of extended reference and narrative. But darker associations than these are laid to the discredit of Howe, Burgoyne, and Henry Clinton in their conduct or misconduct of this war. How far these charges are based upon solid fact, and not upon inference and conjectures, is a question perhaps without satisfactory answer. But so far as popular opinion is evidence against these generals, there is plenty of evidence in the letters, the caricatures, and the street ballads of the times. That the hand of a woman has again and again directed and misdirected military operations is strongly suspected by all students of military

affairs, in which occasionally is found absolute proof of this tender and irresponsible interference. But against Howe, at any rate, the charge of wasting time and energy in the company of his mistress is made on quite plausible grounds. It may be alleged, of course, that a general custom mitigates the incidence of a particular indictment; and that there was high precedent set by the great captains of Europe in search of relaxation from the fatigues of a campaign. A vast number of agreeable women were in Luxembourg's camp at Steenkirk, and actually sharing the revels of high captains and lords when William the Third delivered in the grey of a spring morning his sudden attack.[1] Ladies and men of fashion subsequently adopted a careless and hurried arrangement of their lace cravats as memorials of the disordered and probably disorderly attire of gentlemen who rushed from the presence of beauty to encounter the foe. The Steenkirk cravat remained long a modish way of wearing lace about the throat. Thackeray's well-known picture of the regimental wives, of Mrs. Major O'Dowd, of Mrs. Rawdon Crawley, of the gallantries of General Tufto, of the famous ball offered by the Duchess of Richmond to the officers and ladies of the allied army on the eve of Waterloo, is probably in no degree overdrawn.

In the days when every man of quality wore a sword, tragedy lurked ominously near to every scene of boisterous merriment and revel; and either to accentuate the paeans of victory or attenuate the cries of defeat Folly with her cap and bells was never far off. Major André's account of the doings at Philadelphia in 1778 when Howe was closing his winter's repose on his laurels there,[2] and Madame de Riedesel's account of her own doings during the campaign of 1777, help to illustrate the common standard of conduct. It may be added that there

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. xix., Steenkirk.

[2] The "Mischianza," in *Ladies' Magazine*, 1792. Cf. André's account in full in Smith and Watson's Reprints.

followed Burgoyne's army, as was computed, about two thousand women, of whom three hundred were on the strength of the regiments, while the rest were fed and maintained by the soldiers themselves. It would seem as if all warriors of the correct model went on campaign with sword in one hand, a lass on the disengaged arm, and a bottle knocking up against his cartridge-box rearwards.

# CHAPTER VIII

## FORCES OF THE CROWN: A SKETCH OF THE SOCIAL AND MILITARY CONDITIONS OF THE TWO SERVICES BETWEEN 1760 AND 1800—*Continued.*

We may now review briefly the composition of the expeditionary force in America in 1775-76 prior to the arrival of the heavy reinforcements which reached New York harbour in August 1776. There is appended to this chapter a list of all the regular British troops of all arms which served in America between 1775 and 1783, but at the time Howe took over the command in Boston in October 1775, there were serving in America twenty-three regiments of the line, with some artillery and one regiment of light dragoons.[1]

The estimated total of the field-force was 11,736 men of all ranks of foot, with 400 mounted men of the 17th Light Dragoons.

About Dragoons.

No light dragoon regiments are now included in the Army List, and in 1775 the dragoon was simply a mounted infantry man, partly trained to and sometimes used for cavalry tactics. The dragoon had been armed in former days with an arquebuss, or a long carbine with a plug bayonet; who as often fought on foot as on horseback. Among the most famous of regiments was the North British Dragoons, the Second Dragoons or Scots Greys. An incident in the history

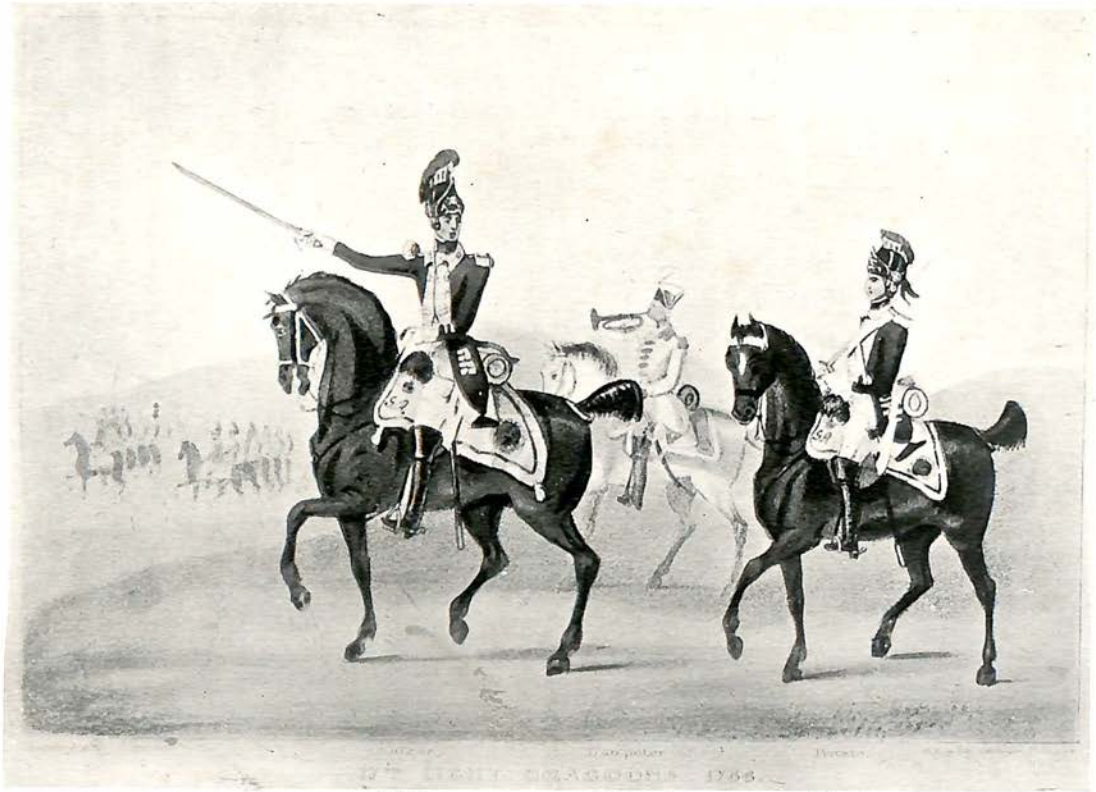
[1] The 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 14th, 16th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 35th, 38th, 40th, 44th, 45th, 47th, 49th, 52nd, 59th, 63rd, 64th, 65th, with the 17th light dragoons.

of the regiment throws some light on the use of the fixed bayonet by the dragoon in the eighteenth century.

On 2nd July 1704, at six in the afternoon, toward the close of a very wet day, Marlborough was directing an attack upon Donauwörth. The North British with other horse, all in double rank, lay in the second line of attack. Having been pushed on in forced marches through heavy mud, the infantry were so leg-weary that their attack on the French position appeared slow and deficient in spirit. General Lumley directed the North British regiment to dismount and charge in support of the infantry. This order, dressed as they were in cavalry kit, inclusive of cumbrous jack boots half-way up the thigh and a heavy sabre under the long skirt of their coat, they immediately executed. Led by Lord John Hay, they marched in the front rank of the infantry, the attack being slow and in close formation. No weapon but the bayonet was used by the dismounted dragoons. The French broke, and within twenty minutes from General Lumley's order the dragoons remounted, and joined in the general pursuit of the enemy. Thus, within half an hour Lord John Hay was in command of cavalry, infantry, and again of cavalry.

Riding light, on wiry horses (the animal best suited for this service was called a *dragooner*), the services of the dragoons for policing a disturbed area were reckoned of the greatest value. Perhaps the proceedings in France of this class of mounted infantry, called the dragonnades, furnish the best illustration of the terrible service they could render. Quartered in the Calvinist districts of France, these soldiers—dragons indeed!—soon brought about that awful peace which ensues on murder and rapine.

It is for the military expert to decide in how far the issues of this American War would have been affected by the full use of the cavalry arm. But when hostilities began there were in America few horses available for the royal army. Colonel Oliver De



Officer. Trumpeter. Private.

17TH LIGHT DRAGOONS, 1768.

From *History of the 17th Light Dragoons*, by R. Cannon, 1837.

Lancey was commissioned by General Gage to pick up remounts for a dragoon regiment, but although he could find sellers in New York and Long Island he could not find roads along which to despatch his purchases to the eastward, for the Patriots had beset and made impassable every track leading to New England. On the other hand, very few horses survived the voyage from Cork Harbour to Massachusetts Bay. To cross the Western Ocean in fifty days was considered a quick passage, but fifty days of the stowage and fodder of a transport proved fatal to all but the very hardiest animals.

The Seventeenth Regiment of Dragoons was the only mounted corps serving at the commencement of this war, and it will help to an appreciation of the difficulties besetting the cavalry arm in America if we glance at the record of this distinguished regiment.

Raised shortly after the battle of Minden in 1759, its establishment was fixed at four troops of 75 men each, yet its achievements and popularity increased its strength to 678 non-commissioned officers and men; but reduced in strength after the Peace of Paris, 1763. the regiment was scattered over Ireland in six detachments of about 40 men each. In 1775 it was selected for foreign service, but as it had now dwindled down to about 120 men, heavy drafts from other two regiments were necessary to fill it up to the number of 225 men, with 186 horses. Of the latter so many died on the passage, that it was found necessary to supply scores of remounts. But in the insurgent provinces no remounts could be had, hence a second regiment of horse was sent out from England with remounts, 450 horse in all, of which no less than 400 perished on the voyage. There not being enough horses to go round, and the difficulties of supply being almost insurmountable, it was thought prudent to send back to England what remained of the second regiment, after drafting a considerable number of dragoons into the 17th. In this way was made up the only horse regiment of the

British army in America in 1775 at the cost of thousands of pounds and with an effective of about 400 mounted troopers.

With all these difficulties to overcome, added to the vastness of an unexplored field of operations, with no remount depôt, and without a highly talented officer in command, it is very creditable indeed to the 17th light dragoons to have done the good work of their record. Their services were restricted to vedette work, orderly duty, and foraging. Occasionally a troop or two came in for some shock tactics, as at Freehold in 1778 and at Camden in 1780, but in most cases the dragoons dismounted to join the infantry, as occurred in the successful attack on Fort Clinton. Consequently the war moved slowly, for neither Washington nor Howe had at his disposal as many mounted men as form the advance guard of a German army corps on a peace footing. The dragoon as a mounted infantryman is of all soldiers the most useful for bringing rebellion to a speedy conclusion. Whether on the insurgent side, engaged in hunting down Loyalists; or in the service of the Crown, engaged in making a disaffected countryside have a care and speak mannerly, the dragoon would secure rapid results with little bloodshed or disturbance. Had there been horse patrols in Boston under the free direction of a good dragoon officer, there can be little doubt the Boston "Massacre" had never occurred, nor the vociferous fluent men of the Old South ever heard of. But the little composite regiment of a few hundred men on duty in a country of which the greater part was closely timbered, was able to effect so little that in a general estimate of the campaigns under Howe's command, the horse soldier is almost a negligible quantity. Artillery there was on the British side and plenty of it, yet except for suburban operations, or siege work, it was of little value. Horse artillery, the precursor of the field battery of our day, which comes into action in a few minutes, was not adopted by the British War Office till 1793, ten years after the American War had

closed.[1] With scanty horse supply, with roads into which the gun or ammunition cart sank to the axle, clogged by either mud or dust, through a country with rivers unbridged, intersected with coastal creeks, and dotted with marshes and lagoons, the artillery officer, unfurnished with road maps and always likely to be misled by lying information, could only advance at a funereal crawl, at a rate of speed which, there is good reason to surmise, annulled every chance of success for Burgoyne in his Expedition from Canada in 1777.

As compared, therefore, with the infantry, and having regard to its proper proportion in the war game, the part played by artillery was insignificant. Hence from a gunner's point of view the war was an infantry war.

Pay of the Army.

Turn we now for a short time our attention to the pay and allowances of the army. Little is to be added to Mr. Fortescue's masterly account of the finances of the army when Pitt took office in 1781. The Paymaster-general enjoyed the most lucrative position at the disposal of the Ministry. It was the custom of the paymaster-general to furnish the Treasury with an estimate of the amount the army was likely to require for a year, and the Treasury immediately honoured the paymaster's demand. There was no investigation of the prudence of the paymaster's estimate, no audit of his accounts, no examination of his unexpended balances from previous annual estimates. The unexpended balances in the paymaster's hands were treated as if they constituted a fund from which the paymaster as sole trustee drew the interest as a terminable annuity. The advantage to the paymaster of keeping large unexpended balances is obvious. Henry Fox, father of Charles James Fox, was paymaster for eight years. His annual credit balances averaged nearly half a million, from which he drew for his own private profit and

[1] Henri Martin (*History of France since 1789*, iii. 110) says the French ammunition column was formed in 1800, prior to the campaign of Marengo. Bonaparte created it: "Ce fut à cette époque qu'il créa le corps du train d'artillerie; jusque-là canon et caissons étaient conduits par des charretiers ramassés au hasard."

behoof the interest. Henry Fox in consequence amassed a large fortune.

"During the war," says Dr. Hunt, "the Government often obtained ready money by issuing bills at 20 per cent discount. Fox bought these bills with the public money which lay in his hands."

He also used the public money in operating in government stock, and gained immense profits from the fluctuations of the funds. The money embarked on these speculations was public money, that is, the unexpended balances from year to year left to the credit of the paymaster of the forces. Even when this post was taken from him, now promoted to be Baron Holland, his benefice did not cease, for until the audit took place the annual interest of the balances unexpended at the moment of his surrender of office still remained as his perquisite.

Although Lord Holland resigned office in 1765, it does not appear that his accounts had been audited in 1780. For fifteen years, apparently, he drew £25,000 a year from this very special and peculiar provision for the management of the public funds. But every paymaster did not avail himself of this backshish. Mr. Pitt (Chatham), Holland's predecessor in office, declined to touch this money. Every penny of Lord Holland's terminable annuity should have gone back into the pockets of the taxpayer or forward to the pockets of the soldier. But the Whig mandarins had no special scruples as to squeezing the public sponge. With a view to keeping these unexpended balances in their hands at a high figure the paymasters had developed a system of accounts, of checks, counter-claims, and allowances that no man could understand unless he had a gift for that kind of Minotaur research.

"In fact," says Mr. Fortescue, "the chaos of *subsistence*, *gross off-reckonings*, *stock purses*, and *non-effective funds* in the financial departments of the military service was indescribable. The computation of the off-reckonings alone was a branch so

extensive as to give a title to an official in the pay office, and if he were truly a master of that most abstruse of sciences he must have been a very remarkable man. It is not difficult to read between the lines that the commissioners really abandoned in despair the task of comprehending our military finances."[1]

As men on half-pay were frequently unpunctual in applying for their allowances, as accounts from out-stations such as Minorca and the West Indies were a long time in coming to hand, and were occasionally referred to Minorca and the West Indies for reconsideration, and in other ways were liable to the delays official management is skilful to foster, as demands by regimental officers for pay and allowances being classified under six separate heads were certain to be full of mistakes, it is obvious that the paymaster of the forces, having drawn in advance a sum estimated to meet all demands, must have had a very fine credit balance with his bankers. This balance substantially consisted of stoppages from the pay and allowances of both the officers and the rank and file of the army.

The artillery and cavalry were each in their own degree placed at the same disadvantages. For privates, gunners, or troopers, the pay was equally inadequate. Nor were the subaltern officers in any better case. Ensigns and cornets had barely enough pay to satisfy the weekly bills of their servants for wages and provender. The colonels on the Irish establishment asked for another shilling a day for their ensigns and cornets; but in vain, for the administration had only to call attention to the prices paid for commissions to show that while commissions fetched such high prices, there was too keen a competition for an army commission that the administration need trouble about raising rates of pay. Thus in 1777 a captain of foot got £2200 for his commission, while a troop of horse sold for 4000 guineas. A lieutenant-colonel's commission in the Household troops varied from £7000 to £4800, the latter being the price in the regiments of Foot Guards,

[1] Fortescue, iii. 521.

the former that in the Horse Guards. A lieutenant-colonel's of the line cost about £4500, a major's commission £3200.[1] At this time officers of lower rank than that of lieutenant received, after reckoning of all stoppages and outgoings, nothing per annum. Subalterns served in the army practically at their own charges.

If such were the case of the commissioned men, the condition of the full private may be conjectured. His rations were scanty and of the coarsest sort, his pay too was practically nothing. Hence, being generally hungry and always thirsty, the private soldier was not a welcome object in any town, while in towns containing barracks, the neighbourhood of soldiers' quarters was regarded by the less venturesome inhabitants with a feeling akin to terror. In garrison towns this sentiment lingered long in the memory of people, certainly up to the period of the Crimean War. A larger mindedness about these unhappy men dates from the labours of Miss Nightingale in the hospital at Scutari, and the trenchant reports of Dr. Russell of *The Times*.

Nevertheless, there was enough money in the public treasury to have maintained every regiment, from the drummer to the colonel commanding, in comparative comfort. Honesty and justice in the centre of things might have repaid the labours of those great champions of liberty, of whom we hear so much. But until the time of Mr. Pitt none of the great orators, statesmen, and political preachers seriously attempted to stem the unexampled corruption of high officials, or of their menials. When, for instance, in 1783 Mr. Pitt brought forward his motion for the reform of abuses in public offices, he pointed out that in one office the annual expenditure on string alone amounted to £340. Thus a dark and complex scheme of peculation, of corruption, of farming government contracts, of squeezing the public funds was in active operation during 1775, and

[1] Fortescue, iii. 521. Cf. also *Military Finance*, of which the earlier editions were anonymous, the later edited by Major Thomas Reide; 9th edn. 1805.

the British soldier paid his full share of the blood-stained reckoning.

Many writers have pointed out that party government, like time, has its revenges, and how on the approach of a General Election, opposition candidates will charge the Ministry and their supporters with extravagance, with excessive expenditure on the forces of the Crown, with militarism and so forth. The assumption at the back of these charges being that the elector is commonly a mean-spirited fellow, who, pleased though he be to have the honour and glory of belonging to a great nation, and to talk large about himself as an Englishman, is quite willing to let other men do his fighting for him, while he is curmudgeon enough to growl at the cost, and to undervalue the services rendered. This farce has for generations been reproduced with new properties, scenery, dresses, and actors, and still faces the music to crowded and sympathetic audiences. The time will probably come for both the farce and the nation together to disappear from the serious attention of the world. Is there any other country under the sun in which ex-service men are exposed not only to the insults of certain employers of labour, but even to the sneers of comrades working in their own trade, and are thus led to conceal the fact that they have served in the field king and country?[1] But in 1775, whatever the public thought of either soldier or sailor socially, there was no parsimony; public money was generously voted both for army and fleet.

The Fleet in 1778.

When Sir Henry Keppel in 1778 was leaving London to take command of the fleet at Portsmouth, high administrative officials assured him that thirty-five sail of the line, all fully found, manned, and equipped, were at their moorings ready for sea.

On his arrival only six of them were judged by him "fit to meet a seaman's eye" and ready for active

[1] *E.g.* among the Battersea Post-office servants in 1906.

duty; for in the dockyards, embezzlement, larceny, swindling, and the process known to nautical language as "pipeclaying the accounts" raged unchecked. Ships were placed on the estimates for repairs, the money was voted, and the ships were not repaired. Vessels reported as well found and ready for sea lay in the naval harbours rotting. Ships built of foreign stuff or unseasoned timber, seldom out of the ship-carpenters' hands, were despatched outwards in an unseaworthy condition. In the course of seven years, between 1775 and 1782 seventy-six vessels of the Royal Navy, capsized, foundered, or were wrecked, inclusive of fourteen ships of sixty-four guns and upwards. It was well known that the ships in Boston harbour in 1775, the *Falcon*, the *Lively*, and the *Shrewsbury*, were ill-found, under-manned, and cranky. Nor was this system confined to the dockyards. The Admiralty charged the nation with 4000 men more than were rated on the books of the Navy. They placed demands on the estimates for buildings and repairs, and having got hold of the money, used it for other objects at their own discretion.

The Commons with the consent of the country had voted enough between 1771 and 1778 to build and equip two hundred ships, frigates and men-o'-war, yet not a moiety of this number was ever on the stocks. The rate of wreckage and total loss from bad seamanship, weather, and unsound condition being so high, and the margin of loss by the acts of enemies being somewhat liable to sudden expansion, the construction of thirty ships of all ratings and armaments each year was not in excess of the necessities of the
1777. empire; yet in the year of Saratoga, when the French war became imminent it was estimated that of first, second, and third rates there were only 119 ships of all ratings available.

What had become of the millions voted by the people to secure their trade highways, and to keep their household in order is unknown.

Public money disappeared like water in sand. It has already been noticed how the paymaster of the army converted his unexpended annual balances to his private use. The Treasurer of the Navy, as will be seen, behaved in like manner and so did the pursers. Every one, with certain honourable exceptions, conspired to rob both the public and the sailor.

Kempenfeldt, writing to Middleton, says that the *Norfolk*, "a remarkable fine ship," came from the East Indies, "with few defects yet, being left for several years before taking in hand was then found not worth repairing, and broken up." He reports from information received that in eight years just previously, twenty-four sail of the line were broken up or sold. The eight years referred to tallies with the period noted above in which seventy-six men-o'-war were lost. The total losses of the navy during these years amounts, therefore, to one hundred ships of different degrees of nautical value. The immediate effect of this official larceny was chiefly felt in the repairing of the ships. A wooden ship laid up in harbour went to pieces in a few years. These ships had not become obsolete in pattern and fit only for the scrap heap, as may be the case with ships sold out of the navy in these times. They were good ships which, requiring a little careful looking after in a methodical way, might have been, on their own merits, afloat to this day, as is the *Victory*, their venerable sister; yet on their beginning to rot if the remedy were not applied in time they perished at their moorings, for when a wooden ship's frame begins to decay if the defective parts are not soon removed they infect and poison the whole body of the ship at a rapidly increasing rate.

It may be remarked, however, that many ships were built of material and under conditions conducive to their speedily becoming rotten. They were built in the open air (as was the *Temeraire* at Devonport), 1907.
and

. . . the constant wettings and warpings from rain and sun set up decay in the exposed wood, so that many ships had begun to rot before a plank was put on. Some, indeed, were as green as grass with mildew and fungus before the timbers were fitted.[1]

Add to this that ships were fraudulently sold out of the service by agreement between the Government inspectors and certain firms of shipowners. The dockyard officials being "approached" condemned a vessel as unseaworthy, which was then sold at scrap prices to parties who, having changed the ship's name, and altered her appearance, rigging, and fittings, then got her back into the Government service as a transport. In such ways officials became to each other fruitful, and their substance multiplied.

With ships allowed to decay as soon as launched, with insufficient harbour accommodation, with docks few in number and of mean dimensions, with empty storehouses and a shortage of men, the navy in 1777 was in a shameful condition. Discontent and indiscipline weakened from within the moral structure, the Admiralty corrupted it from without.

Let us follow further the experiences of Sir Henry Keppel at this juncture. . . . He repairs to Portsmouth and finds only six ships fit for sea. A delay of three months is entailed which the King fills up by going round to the three easterly dockyards, Portsmouth, Chatham, and Sheerness, to hurry matters forward and by knighthoods and promotions instil some energy into the officials responsible for the preparations. At length Keppel put to sea and fought an engagement which by many English writers has been claimed as a victory, on which contention no opinion is now submitted; but Kempenfeldt and others seem to think the English fleet came off second best. Sir Hugh Palliser, a Lord of the Admiralty and friend of the Ministry, being third in command, was subordinate to an Admiral who was a member of Parliament, an adherent of the old Whig party, and in Opposition.

[1] Masefield, *Sea Life in Nelson's Time*, p. 3.

After the engagement at Ushant, Palliser being charged with insubordination, met the charge by reprisals, with the consequence that both officers were court-martialed for misconduct and both acquitted.

But feeling ran very high in London. Perhaps the most dangerous and reckless mob in the world, which a year or two later reduced the metropolis in many places to ashes and the country to the brink of ruin, arose at once under the customary incitements of Whig emissaries. The two admirals, the Tory Lord of the Admiralty and the Whig member for Windsor, were, so to speak, two gauntlets for factious challenge. The friends and followers of Mr. Fox sacked Palliser's house in Pall Mall, casting all the furniture into a huge bonfire in St. James's Square. Young gentlemen from the Whig clubs assisted the rioters. Mr. Pitt, then newly from Cambridge, was at least a spectator of the fun; and a young Whig duke, captured among the rioters, was carried off to the watch-house. Palliser, Keppel.

This angry contention between two men of high naval rank, which closed by Keppel striking his flag and by Palliser resigning his office, wrought the accustomed results. Insubordination travels fast; it declared itself equally in gun-room and ward-room and on deck. For many subsequent years the navy fell into a state of turbulent discontent and indiscipline.

"One grand object of the Admiralty," writes Kempenfeldt, "should be to restore a strict orderly discipline to the fleet, for which purpose there ought to be an admiral at each port besides the port admiral, whose charge should be the order and conduct of the ships only. Captains should not be absent from their ships, nor lay on shore when at Spithead. The relaxation of last winter was of great prejudice to the fleet. No admiral particular to attend to their conduct; captains mostly absent; and the greatest part of the lieutenants likewise; the men, left in a great measure to themselves, became riotous and licentious, and such opportunities given for desertion that loss was shameful."[1] 1778-79.

[1] Cf. Kempenfeldt to Middleton (*Barham Papers*, i. p. 299); and on the general view of the action off Ushant see a letter "d'un officier de l'armée navale de France à M. l'amiral Keppel, 1778."

The year 1778 was a black year for the navy. Richard, Lord Howe, returned from the command of the British fleet in American waters, and became the centre of disturbance in the senior service. His reputation was much tarnished by his conduct in America. His conduct in connection with the Convention of Saratoga had called forth severe strictures, and he was openly denounced for either disloyalty or incapacity, for neglect of duty, for not accepting reasonable risks in the accomplishment of work. He was charged with "unaccountable inactivity" on many occasions, and of affording "evident proof either that he had not a good will to the service, or incapacity for command." His doings in New York harbour, at the mouth of the Delaware, at Newport, at Boston, all stood in need of explanation. The enquiry subsequently made into the conduct of the Howes was burked; and the challengers of Richard, Lord Howe, remain unanswered to this day. But the most recent scandal connected with his American command concentrated itself at Boston. If we may anticipate the course of events somewhat, it may be pointed out that by the convention of Saratoga Burgoyne with all his troops was to be accorded free passage to Great Britain on condition of not serving anywhere against the Americans during the continuance of this war. The troops were marched down to Boston to join the transports destined to convey them across the Atlantic to Europe. But Lord Howe declined to furnish the transports; he said that in November he could not bring appropriate vessels into Boston harbour. It may be borne in mind that transports in the eighteenth century were usually of such light tonnage that four or five such vessels were needed to ship a regiment of average strength. Lord Howe's objection to risk his vessels was with much reason thought to be a mere subterfuge. His delays were held to be the chief causes of the subsequent violations of the Convention by Congress, by affording

the lawyers time to fashion objections.[1] It was thus, rightly or wrongly, a general opinion among the Loyalist refugees in England, and with the supporters of the Ministry, that Richard, Lord Howe, had not behaved honestly either by his King or his country. On his arrival in England, he became, as Mr. Julian Corbett says,[2] the centre of a strike of the most capable officers on the active list against the Ministry. Both Keppel and Howe joined hands against the administration. They both refused active service. Some twenty captains, when the fleet was in Torbay in 1779, were in revolt. They were all Whigs, or hangers-on of the great Whig houses. Consequently insubordination and disaffection reigned throughout the British Navy.

From motives of liberality the Ministry had employed in the military and naval service men hostile to their measures, who instead of palliating the miscarriages of the war, increased by their own complaints the public uneasiness and the clamour of party.

Kempenfeldt, that admirable seaman and officer whose deplorable death at Portsmouth by the capsizing of the *Royal George* is so well known, also speaks of crews under the universal influence of indiscipline as little better than disorderly mobs.

That alarming mutiny the summer before last on board the *Prince* and under the immediate authority of an admiral whose flag was flying aboard, was a degree of audacity never heard of before in the annals of our navy . . . then the refusal of weighing anchor in the *Defiance*, the *Valiant*, the *Cumberland* . . . . this audacious spirit shewed itself on several occasions in the *Victory* when we first went on board of her.[3] 1777.

[1] Cf. Johnstone's attack on the Howes in the House of Commons, 1779.

[2] Julian S. Corbett, Preface to *Signals and Instructions, 1776-1794*. Naval Records Society, 1909.

[3] Kempenfeldt to Sir Charles Middleton, 28th December (1779?). As to the passage quoted above, Sir J. K. Laughton thinks Kempenfeldt in error about the *Prince*, which was not then in commission, and suggests Kempenfeldt may have meant the *Queen*.

Abuses in the Navy.

If the incidents referred to here by Kempenfeldt do not appear to be quite accurately reported, the inaccuracy does not affect the main contention, for there had been riotous and mutinous doings aboard H.M.S. *Queen* (Vice-Admiral Harland) early in this year, an outbreak suppressed by a prodigious amount of flogging. The riots and shamelessness of the men were interpretations of the careless and immoral spirit animating high officials trusted by the Crown. The men were, indeed, always smarting under sufferings inflicted by carelessness or fraud. For instance, the dockyard of Woolwich, entrusted with despatching beds for the army in America, packs them in the hatchways of the store ships, so that on arrival they were discovered to be saturated with brine, rotten and useless; sets of signal flags being put away in casks, iron cringles and pins are packed on top, with the effect that all the sets of signals are defaced with rust and useless; slops for the men packed in bales are stowed in the fish room of transports, so that when unpacked for issue they are both rotten and stinking; sour oatmeal is issued to crews in the West Indies for the daily detestable breakfast porridge known as *burgoo*. Some medical person had advised the Government to issue oatmeal to the navy as a kind of physic. Every morning in a sour and weevily condition oatmeal was boiled in the ship's water, which was usually rotten, and served out of the ship's coppers to the men; every day it was thrown into the pigstyes as uneatable. Many of the crew would not draw the ration, but at the end of the cruise drew compensation money instead.[1] The rations of butter came out as rancid oil. The cordage and running rigging were generally twice laid, the spars sprung and decayed. Admirals were reported as participators, with their myrmidons or certain outfitting firms, in the fruits of embezzlement, or fraudulent performance of contracts.

[1] Cf. Masefield, *Sea Life in Nelson's Time*, p. 147.

A captain writing to the secretary of the Admiralty from Sandy Hook indignantly asks:

> With the rapacity of this *man of the navy* and others such as this fellow is, and those in the army of the same kidney, how is it to be supposed that a Minister and a nation can support a war?

Peculation.

He here charges the admiral of the New York station that, with the aid of his creatures and for his own behoof, he himself filled every administrative position under the navy: victualling the fleet, the hospitals, and the hulks, in fact being "indirectly in possession of every branch where the public money can be got at," they forge pilots' bills, they serve condemned provisions to the American prisoners, they contract for beef in such a way that a profit of 5d. a pound accrues to the admiral and his secretary, and they engage in "every species of villainy."[1] Complaints, not from the man in the foretop, but from the man on the quarter-deck, from post-captains and fleet-captains, about the brutal callousness of the civil servants of the Crown were not uncommon, but they were for the most marked *private* or *very private*, lest the writers themselves should come into condemnation. Yet occasionally a pamphlet or a tract on the degenerate and dissatisfied condition of the British Navy addressed to the Navy Board reached the people and made a painful impression on public opinion. A tract of this kind drew attention to the mischief of the methods of appointment to commands of ships, and traced much of the misery between decks to the placing of beardless boys and inexperienced macaronies in highly responsible positions. It was said that venal Ministers would place any nobleman's by-blow on the quarter-deck of a ship.

[1] Captain Walter Young to Sir Charles Middleton (*Barham Papers*, i. 80, vol. xxxii., Naval Records Society). Admiral Arbuthnot, called "Mr. Arbuthnot," is the "Man of the Navy" of the letter.

If a gallant young captain under the age of twenty (and there are many in that predicament) goes out upon a cruise, and is so fortunate as to take a ship of equal or superior size, what a noble fellow is that same captain (the real work being done by an experienced lieutenant), or if a failure, say his friends, "'tis but two years since he left Eaton school."

Sir George Rodney's son John was made lieutenant-commander and captain at an age when he ought to have been still in a midshipman's berth. Nisbet, a nephew of Nelson's, a youth whose drunken habits frequently involved him in trouble from which he was extricated by his great kinsman, was captain at twenty. Nelson himself had entered the navy as a captain's boy. A captain was permitted to have one boy or servant for every hundred men on the ship's rating. A seventy-four carried at least six hundred and forty men. A captain of a first-rate might thus have in his service six or seven boys. The custom, as old as the navy itself, constituted a lucrative perquisite of command. A captain drew pay and allowances for six or seven boys of whom some were fictitious, for probably he would find the care of one or two boys at a time quite enough occupation of that class. These *servants* were in no condition of inferiority. They did not lay the captain's table, valet him, or clean his beautiful hessians. They were his dependents, his own children, or sons of friends and relations, from whom the captain received an allowance for all unavoidable expenses.[1]

Nelson was servant to his uncle Captain Maurice Suckling of the *Triumph*, Guardship at Chatham, little Nelson being then twelve years old. His gallant uncle, having got his nephew rated as a servant and

[1] M. César de Saussure (*Travels in England*, p. 370), narrates how he became captain's servant, and travelled free from Portsmouth to Lisbon in H.M.S. *Torrington*, commanded by Captain Vincent, who "rarely comes on deck, except to take the air, and does not trouble himself with ordinary seamanship. He is severe with the men, and rarely appears without some of them receiving strokes with the cane."

on the ship's books, drew the boy's allowance for pay and victuals, but turned him over to a merchantman for sea experience. This way of making an honest penny was at that time in line with the conventions of the navy. The pursers acted likewise; they drew pay for the dead men, or discharged men, or men lent to other ships, and fabricated the necessary paysheets and tickets.

Rodney entered the navy as a king's letter boy, that is, a kind of cadet.[1] His advance was for some reason somewhat slow, he was not "posted" till five and twenty. Howe (Black Dick) on the other hand was a post-captain at twenty.

Monsieur César de Saussure in George the Second's reign got himself conveyed in a King's ship from London to Lisbon as a King's letter boy. He gives an amusing description of his voyage and a useful account of the ship's dietary.[2] The privilege of bringing boys into the navy was shared by lieutenants and masters, who, however, found themselves somewhat restricted in plucking this conventional fruit. Probably Marryat's *Peter Simple* and *King's Own* tell as much about this system of officering the navy as is worth knowing. The system caused much trouble and favouritism and jobbery, and under it some of the older post-captains became restive. Captain Isaac Coffin was tried on a charge of "disobedience and 1782.
contempt" for objecting to the appointment of three children as lieutenants to his ship the *Shrewsbury*. But the naval records of the time are full of evidence of such abuse of trusts and patronage. Other records too, have the same story to tell.

For instance, Colonel Barré lay dying in 1792. He had been at first an irreconcileable, but turned over to be a supporter of Mr. Pitt, who awarded him a sinecure of £3000 a year as Clerk of the Pells.

[1] Captain Gardner (cf. vol. xxxi., Naval Records Society), tells how he himself was a *servant* at five years of age; and was borne on the books of the navy while still at school.

[2] Cf. note above, p. 298. The dietary is appended to this chapter.

"I hear," wrote the Dean of Rochester to a patron, "that Colonel Barré is in a very precarious state. I hope you will have the fortitude to nominate Harry to be his successor."

Mr. Addington, to whom this pious wish was expressed, took his courage in both hands and nominated his son Harry to be Clerk of the Pells. Harry was probably not the only boy at a public school who was drawing public money for doing nothing, but even in those spacious days of embezzlement and misappropriation of the public funds, there could not have been more than one boy at Winchester in receipt of £250 a month of the taxpayers' money. But even into the nineteenth century, notwithstanding Burke's famous handling of the public money question in 1782, there were sinecures to the amount of a million and a half.

Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth) the Tory, and Colonel Barré the Whig, were of one mind as to such emoluments. Both parties looked upon public funds and offices as the natural perquisites of the governing classes. All statesmen regarded such sinecures as of the nature of self-presented testimonials of which unhappily the number for distribution had a tendency to decrease. This being the Mandarins' view of the custom, Captain Isaac Coffin's objection to carrying three children as lieutenants of his ship appeared in high quarters to be a monstrous piece of insolent insubordination and of revolutionary removal of landmarks. The Mandarins' resentment pursued Captain Isaac Coffin to his ultimate removal from the King's service.

Pay and Prize Money.

Supposing, then, a man arrived at the coveted rank of post-captain. How did he stand? His pay was not large, his pension small, his expenses heavy. In command of a seventy-four with a crew of 600 men a captain's pay was £240 a year; and the scale of pay appears to range from £110 to £450 according to the rating of his ship, while his expenses showed a steady increase from year to year.

SIR GEORGE RODNEY.

Mezzotint by Dupont, after Gainsborough, 1788.

"The gentlemen in the army," writes a captain in commission to a member of parliament in 1783, "have an allowance for contingent money. We of the navy have only contingent expenses. There is hardly a nation in the world unacquainted with the generosity of the British nation. Hence whatever port we arrive at the expectations from us are greater than we can answer with the utmost stretch of our ability, and a manner of living which would have the appearance of extravagance in other men, and is really extravagance in us, seems to be no more than what persons employed in public and honourable service owe to the public."

Among other profitless occupations the navy found carrying potentates from harbour to harbour costly work; the British ships having for some years held a monopoly of this class of non-paying or dead-head passenger. There were compensations. Prize-money was sometimes an emolument of the first rank, and, like other emoluments of a fortuitous kind, proved sometimes to be most injurious to the service. Admirals in command took an eighth of all money accruing from the sale of all prizes captured by any ship under their flag. The chagrin of a junior flag-officer on the arrival of an admiral senior to himself is best illustrated by the conduct of Arbuthnot to Sir George Rodney on the latter's reaching New York in 1782. Arbuthnot who, as mentioned above, is arraigned in the correspondence of the time, of conniving at embezzlement and touching a high proportion of the plunder himself, behaved to Rodney with incredible insolence, chiefly about prize-money.[1]

Arbuthnot's case was that Rodney, in a mean and unbrotherly way, laid hands on prize-money that according to all the laws of sport should have fallen to himself, the junior admiral. The custom of prize-money was that every King's ship that hove in sight during the capture of an enemy by another King's ship was entitled

[1] For Rodney at St. Eustatius, cf. Hannay's *Rodney*, pp. 152 foll.; Mundy's *Rodney*, i. 376; *Barham Papers*, p. liv. (Sir J. K. Laughton); and *Letters from Captain Walter Young*, pp. 46-49 (Publications of the Naval Records Society).

to a share of prize-money; the admiral in command of a station was awarded one-eighth of the value of the spoils gathered by any ship under his command; the post-captain's prize-money was three-eighths of the prize value of his capture; the remainder of the ship's company divided the remaining half of the total value of the prize, according to the authorised scale. It fell out, then, that on the day after the date of Rodney's arrival in New York harbour a frigate of Arbuthnot's squadron came into the bay with a big prize estimated at £24,000. Of this handsome total, had Rodney been delayed but by one day, Arbuthnot would have touched £3000. Rodney, however, on arrival superseded Arbuthnot, became Commander-in-Chief and legally entitled to one-eighth share of the newly captured prize. Rodney stood by his legal rights. Arbuthnot thus missed a noble booty by just one day. He is reported to have been a greedy man, and his wrath was unbounded. The prize-money system bore with it fierce temptations. Such sudden strokes of fortune upset men's judgment, and led the best of seamen astray. An admiral would be induced to retain under his own flag a smart frigate which might be doing better public service elsewhere under a junior flag. Visions of small fortunes rapidly made blinded high officers to the larger interests of the public service. The jealousies and animosities aroused in the hearts of the men of a blockading squadron towards the lucky comrades in the frigates cruising about for prey, were as intense as they were natural.[1] Hence the combined influence of prize-money and power and patronage caused a post-captain's billet to be much envied.

Of the power of a captain, its opportunities for tyranny, its facilities for turning a ship into a hell afloat (then a common phrase), and some captains' accomplishments in the last direction, much has been written, in

[1] Sir Conan Doyle has very briefly, but ably, dealt with the question of prize-money and the jealousies it excited, in his novel *Rodney Stone*.

which there has been little exaggeration because it is well nigh impossible to exaggerate. Men who sailed with this class of despot have left a record of their experiences, a record of human suffering and misery almost without parallel. Something must be said on this matter a little later in these pages. Meanwhile let us glance at the serious drawbacks of a captain's professional life and position.

Half pay and Pensions.

As soon as his ship came out of commission his troubles began. The scale of half-pay was drawn up in a narrow and cheeseparing spirit. There were some fifty captains whose half-pay ranged from about twenty shillings a day, according to seniority, down to ten shillings a day. Next to these were thirty at eight shillings, forty next to these at six shillings, fifty at five shillings, the remainder, an indefinite number, at four shillings, that is, £73 a year.

This scale apparently came into force early in the eighteenth century, and compared badly with the pay of army officers in similar rank. Complaint was made that a captain of marines got five shillings a day, according to the army scale, while a captain of a man-of-war, an officer of rank superior to the marine, was paid four shillings. Yet scanty as was the half-pay of officers the allowances to their widows were fixed at starvation rates: a captain's widow, if paid in full of her standard allowance, was awarded seventeen shillings and sixpence a week; a first lieutenant's seven shillings and sixpence; other officers', the master's, the surgeon's, the chaplain's, the purser's, little more than a shilling.

Pensions, however, were seldom paid in full, for the scheme for raising the funds for these compassionate allowances was so ingeniously perverse that the funds were always at their lowest ebb when most needed. Every ship in commission was debited with three fictitious ratings. The cash values of these fictitious ratings, after being reckoned up at the end of a cruise, were passed through the ship's accounts forward to the books of a consolidated fund, and to this amount was

added a sum arising from a tax of threepence in the pound on every officer's pay. From this tax, however, officers of the admiral rank appear to have stood clear; their pay is nowhere estimated in this pension tax, nor do these high officers appear to have benefited under the scheme.

In war time, when shot and shell and disease were ever adding widows and orphans to the lists of the destitute, funds for the pension scheme increased. There were hundreds of ships of war, and thousands of officers in commission; but when peace came back these poor widows and orphans had good cause to weep anew. Ships were laid up by the score, and officers were retired by the hundred. Consequently the sources of the compassionate fund dried up to such a degree that a fund which in war time rose to about twenty-one thousand pounds a year, declined in the time of peace to seven thousand pounds. Thus at the time of their sorest necessity, when the number of the widows and orphans strewn about the feet of Britannia Victrix was greatest, the provision for their maintenance was smallest. In effect, these poor ladies, to say nothing of their children, desolate and friendless, slowly perished of starvation.[1]

Of the men on deck, the petty officers and able seamen, the pay was administered on a plan conducive to peculation and suggestive of fraud. On the arrival of a ship in harbour to be paid off, her captain delivered to the Navy Board five books called pay books, signed by himself, the master, the purser, and the boatswain, containing a list of all on board who had served up to the moment of casting anchor. On receipt of these books the treasurer of the navy drew all the accumulated pay and forwarded the sum to the ship. Only

[1] For the complaints and anomalous conditions of service in the navy during the last part of the eighteenth century, see *Naval Tracts and Pamphlets*, 3rd series ix. Radstock Bequest, Royal United Services Institution, Whitehall, from which collection much of the information submitted in the text has been derived.

those on board the vessel at the time fixed for paying off received their money. A man could touch his wages only at the port of discharge. By this system hundreds of men never got their wages. For if a man went ashore to enjoy himself at Portsmouth on the Hard with his old friends and sweethearts after a protracted cruise in the West Indies, and growing mellow with liquor got himself mixed up with a gang pressing men for the Mediterranean Fleet, and was knocked on the head; on his coming to his senses he might find himself outward bound for four or five years without pocketing a shilling of the pay due for his last voyage. All these arrears lay, as was commonly thought, in the navy treasurer's possession for his benefit, and, according to a letter of the time, reposing

> . . . very snug in the iron chest, and undisturbed, unless Mr. Treasurer or his clerks should choose to turn it over now and then to prevent it from mouldering.

The Treasurer of the Navy, up to the great reform in public offices in 1782, appears to have been much in the same advantageous position as his brother official the Paymaster of the Forces.

Miseries of the Navy.

The scale of pay for A.B.'s had been fixed in the reign of Charles the Second at £1, 2s. 6d. a month, and before any revision of this standard of wages occurs a whole century elapsed. But this scanty wage was by no means net; money deductions and stoppages quickly reduced the wage of ninepence per diem to a vanishing point. There were slop clothes and wastages and fines to take into account, so that by the time the purser had completed his counter charges, a man might think himself lucky if he were not deep in the purser's books with a mortgage on prospective prize-money.

Captains, though their powers and opportunities for tyranny were practically unlimited, appear to have had very little power for the improvement of the seaman's pitiable plight. A martinet like Parker might threaten

to stick up a midshipman's jacket somewhere about the deck and flog every man who failed to salute it, and no one doubted his authority in such a matter, but when a captain desired to make some simple changes in favour of the men's convenience and health, insurmountable obstacles arose.

Captain W. Young, writing from New York, in speaking of his West Indian and American experiences, reports:

> He is amazed that there are no storehouses for provisions. The bread is full of vermin and the other provisions destroyed by the heat of the hold. There was at that time a squadron, in the holds of which lay provisions for more than eighteen months without being overhauled; sending butter and oatmeal to the West Indies is so much money lost. He is surprised that the men are not allowed sugar, coffee, and chocolate in lieu of oatmeal as preventions of scurvy. He did his best to make some arrangement to get fresh food for his sailors, but the pursers were too many for him. The pursers are too rapacious and rob the men, which has obliged him to stop it. If something is not done the men will be destroyed by the scurvy, which is more predominate in this squadron and in this country than ever was known.[1]

Apparently then a captain's power did not extend to his governance of the food or comforts of his men; but there were some enlightened and right thinking captains who did what they could to promote reform.

Of scurvy, that most offensive pestilential scourge of all those that in former days went down into the sea in ships, it is expedient not to speak in much detail. Now almost altogether omitted from reference in medical books, it was a disease that the simplest and commonest precautions immediately checked. The worst feature of the complaint appeared about the mouth. The gums became rotten, and fell away from the teeth and jaws, the teeth loosened out, the patient could not chew, ulcerations of the mouth ensued, and in a brief time, other complications follow-

[1] Young to Middleton, 22nd September 1780 (*Barham Papers*).

ing, the patient miserably perished.[1] While cruising about among Islands full of acidulated fruits and green vegetables little or no organised effort was made to bring these health restoratives within reach of the crews. For being either nominees of powerful mercantile firms, who undertook to guarantee their probity to the Admiralty while making them the means of foisting inferior goods at their own price on the defenceless sailors, or being the servants of the captain whose interest in the plundering of the crews was no trifle, the pursers, who were allowed to call 14 ounces a pound, opposed all measures not comprised within the regular routine. The Admiralty officials in their turn connived at robbery of the sailor. They authorised old and poor meat, which had been in salt for years, to be headed up into fresh casks, with fresh brands, and passed in as new meat. This fraud was under the shelter of an Admiralty regulation which practically directed the purser to issue meat in any condition provided it were not absolutely decayed.[2] In fact the sailor was the victim of every kind of official knavery and incompetence. He had no redress. In this particular respect, that of his food, his captain could not help him. The purser, being probably the only officer on board who had purchased his post, occupied a strong position; and it required a Nelson to brush aside the murderous conventions under which our sailors died. Only a Nelson would have detached a frigate to load up fresh onions in African ports for the benefit of his men in the squadron in the Gulf of Lyons. That a

[1] Taylor, *Practice of Medicine*, s.v. "Scorbutus", which is by some held to be the plague described by Thucydides, book ii. Cf. *Dublin Quarterly Journal*, May 1858.

[2] *E.g.*, on 2nd July 1781 the whole crew of the *Marlborough* (74) at sea refused the rations of pork as not fit to eat. The Captain signalled the Admiral, who ordered inquiry to be made by some sailing master, whose report was that the complaint was quite groundless. Neither Captain nor Admiral made personal investigation, for they were powerless against the purser and contractor.

ship of 74 guns should have over 200 men on the sick list was therefore no uncommon occurrence.

Byron and Howley's squadron in the West Indies in 1779 is said to have had 2000 men non-effective chiefly through scurvy. As the surgeons had to provide their own drugs, instruments, and medical stores, as there was no supply of medical comforts, as an assistant-surgeon or surgeon's mate ranked with the carpenter, it is immediately obvious that the poor wretches had but little help from medical assistance. The Rev. James Ramsay, writing to Middleton (afterwards Lord Barham), reports:

> The French squadron has all the appearance of being healthy. Byron's and Rowley's squadron have been very sickly, and are supposed to want in dead and sick men near 2000 effective seamen. As far as I can conjecture the dead may be about 400. There seems to be a want of skilful surgeons. Our surgeon, Mr. Fidge, is daily sent for to one ship or another, sometimes in very common cases. It is surprising to me that so little attention should be paid to so necessary an officer. They (the surgeons) should also be supplied with medicines, at the public expense.[1]

On this Sir J. K. Laughton adds:

> It seems now almost incredible, but it was not till 1796 that medicines were partly supplied, not till 1804 that they were entirely supplied, at the public expense.

It may be added here in illustration of the sanitary precautions of the period that Captain J. R. Gardner mentions that the customary place of the "pig-stys" on board was "under the fo'k'sle." Fresh pork, however, was served only to the captain's table.

Among Rodney's most laudable acts was his request for the services of Dr. Gilbert Blane (afterwards Sir Gilbert Blane) as physician to the fleet, an enlightened man who, by energetic administration and certain sanitary reforms, prevented much suffering, and kept in good fettle many hundreds of men for the most strenuous parts of a seaman's duty. Yet his reforms

[1] *Barham Papers*, i. 48.

were simply cleanliness and good food. Nor was Rodney alone in his anxious care of his men. Hawke and Nelson furnish striking examples of what is effected by plenty of supervision without the multiplication of regulations. In this matter, as in others, Nelson surpassed them all. In his last cruise of that long stern chase, about which he says in his diary that for two years less ten days he did not set a foot on shore, it is known that his humane policy vastly reduced the sickness and discomforts of his command.

"The ships," says Sir J. K. Laughton, "were kept dry and well ventilated; there was no illness, intemperance, skulking, or malingering; there were no spirits and no hospital, the sick were comfortably accommodated, and placed on a regular sick diet. Cheerfulness among the men was prompted and encouraged by music, dancing, and theatrical amusements, the example of which was given by the Commander-in-Chief in the *Victory*."

Incredible though it now appears, the demands of the seamen, which, being refused or obstructed, led to violent discontent or open mutiny, were of the simplest nature. They asked for a rise of threepence a day and an occasional day on shore, fresh vegetables when in harbour, payment of wages in cash and not by ticket, payment of wounded men to continue during their illness and convalescence, and a few other most reasonable concessions. That the fleet for the thirty closing years of the eighteenth century should be seething with mutiny finds testimony in the moderate demands submitted by the mutineers at Spithead in 1797. During the American War matters continued at their worst. The influence of the Revolutionary movement in America and in France contributed towards a further embitterment of the governing classes against the people. Any concession to the cries and miseries of the poor was resented by the oligarchs of either party, and that during a period when there was perhaps more prating boastfulness about the glorious and free constitution of our happy country than at any other

time in our country's history. The high Whigs and high Tories alike looked upon it as the whole duty of man to render the actual interpretation of the Constitution increasingly prohibitive and restrictive. During the last forty years of the century and on into the nineteenth century the reign of terror became more oppressive. Sixty-three acts added an equal number of capital offences to the statute book. Children of seven years of age were convicted of felony and transported. At the Manchester Quarter Sessions as late as 1813 two little boys aged ten and twelve respectively were condemned to seven years' transportation for a trifling offence. Their mother, screaming, grovelled on the floor of the court in vain for some mitigation of the sentence.

1773. This case, compared with that of Mary Jones, whose husband had been seized by the press-gang, proves how little change in public feeling forty years had witnessed. She was left with two infants and a few sticks of furniture at the age of nineteen to face the world alone. The world soon ate her up. Outside a shop in Ludgate Hill she, being turned into the street by her husband's creditors, took up a bit of coarse linen and hid it under her cloak. The shopman saw her take up the stuff and hurriedly replace it. For this offence she was hanged. Her shrieks and screams all the way up Oxford Street were probably no new feature of these weekly scenes, but the regular attendants at Tyburn had the additional sensation that day of seeing the hangman drag her infant out of the embrace of the demented mother before adjusting about her neck the fatal rope.[1]

That forty men, women, and children should be condemned at one Session was not uncommon. It was a principle everywhere proclaimed and practised too, that crime can only be checked by the most savage repression. The game laws and the vagrancy laws were enforced with incredible harshness. Fifteen hun-

[1] Sir William Meredith (I think) called attention to Mary Jones's case in the House of Commons.

dred persons were hung during the early years of the nineteenth century under statutes that a few years later were repealed. Justices of the Peace used their powers with pitiless industry. That a poacher should be tried in a kitchen by a Justice of the Peace who was the owner of the game, apparently excited no adverse criticism.

Schools and homes and institutions for the improvement of refractory youth moved along with the spirit of the times, which expressed itself by the pillory, the stocks, and the gaol. In sympathy with this spirit the King's ships were ruled by terror. The rope's end, the rattan, the cat never ceased in some ships their doleful service. The boatswain's mate, the master at arms, the ship's corporal, the sergeant of marines were caning or kicking all day long. They flogged men up the companion, along the decks, about the rigging, "while in some ships at eleven in the morning every day except Sundays there was flogging at the gangway in presence of all hands." The proportion of captains whose discipline ranged from severity to cruelty was very considerable. The tyrant whose gluttony for punishment could hardly be assuaged by the flogging of the whole ship's company was not uncommon. Occasionally the crew took their revenge. The Spithead mutineers among their demands insisted that 200 officers known for their brutality should be removed from the fleet, and they were removed. The case of the *Hermione* is well known. One afternoon on a quiet day off the South American coast, Captain Piggott gave order for a turn at drill in reefing topsails. The men on the mizzen topsail yard not being as smart as he expected, the captain threatened the last man down with a flogging. In their haste to escape punishment two top-men fell from aloft, and were killed outright at the captain's feet. The story goes that he ordered the dead men to be hove overboard at once with a curse for their clumsiness as their requiem. That same night the crew killed Captain Piggott, as well as some of his subordinate officers, and cast the rest adrift.

Then they sailed the ship into a Spanish port, and surrendered her to the authorities. That many similar acts of revenge occurred in the navy, deeds of which the perpetrators were never discovered, or the discovery was hushed up, is quite certain.

During this period of sustained warfare which with brief intermissions lasted for forty years, the national debt rose from £260,000,000 to £1,040,000,000, that is, at the rate of £18,000,000 for every year between 1775 and 1815. The consequence was that tens of thousands of families, who had enjoyed some sort of independence and comfort, were reduced to beggary. Cobbett says he saw men occupied in breaking stones, who but a few years before had been solvent farmers. Between 1792 and 1795 the commonest class of provisions, such as were then consumed in the beautiful cottages and by the graceful peasantry of the Morland school, rose in price about 125 per cent. The poor-rate jumped up to £4,000,000 per annum. Bread stuffs became so scarce that members of both Houses of Parliament bound themselves to discontinue the use of fine wheat flour, except on very special occasions; the Royal kitchens were also put on a small allowance of fine flour. Everybody was stinted, and thousands of the poor perished of starvation, and that without exciting much pity.

> The existing condition of things bred and strengthened that mean and malignant passion for profiting by the miseries of others, which became the policy of the landed interest, . . . and to crown the whole the penalties of felony and conspiracy were denounced against all labourers, who associated together to better their lot by endeavouring to sell their labour in concert, while the desperation which poverty and misery induce, and the crimes they suggest, were met by a code more sanguinary and brutal than any which a civilised nation had ever heretofore devised.[1]

The sanitary condition of the pretty Morland cottages

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, ed. 1894, p. 489.

can only be expressed by a series of negatives. Infants came into the world in vast numbers. Mothers of twenty children were not uncommon. That was an uncommon woman who was able to raise them to adolescence. Of families of twenty children, but three rarely reached puberty, often not one survived. It is a significant fact that there still lingers in rural England a way of reckoning up a family according to the number of children buried.[1]

The year 1775 is socially pictured by Dickens in a well-known passage of a well-known book.

> In England there was scarcely an amount of order and protection to justify much national boasting. Daring burglaries by armed men and highway robberies took place in the capital itself every night, families were publicly cautioned not to go out of town without removing their furniture to upholsterers' warehouses for security. The highwayman in the dark was a city tradesman in the light, and being recognised and challenged by his fellow-tradesman whom he stopped in his character of "the Captain" gallantly shot him through the head and rode away. The mail was waylaid by seven robbers, and the guard shot three dead, and then got shot dead himself by the other four "in consequence of the failure of his ammunition," after which the mail was robbed in peace.
>
> That magnificent potentate the Lord Mayor of London was made to stand and deliver on Turnham Green by one highwayman, who despoiled the illustrious creature in sight of all his retinue. Prisoners in London gaols fought battles with their turnkeys, and the majesty of the law fired blunderbusses in among them loaded with rounds of shot and ball. Thieves snipped off diamond crosses from the necks of noble lords at court drawing-rooms. Musketeers went into St. Giles' to search for contraband goods, and the mob fired on the musketeers and the musketeers fired on the mob, and nobody thought any of these occurrences much out of the common way.

With this passage our cursory view of social England in the eighteenth century may close. It had, however, been unjustifiable to attempt any estimate of the British Services without taking into consideration the

[1] Mr. Wesley was of a parson's family of whom nine died in their infancy.

temper and conventions of the times. What strikes a student of the ways and doings of the people, who laboured and suffered during the forty years' war, is that the popular estimate of the soldier slowly fell, and that of the sailor as steadily rose. These results are due to many causes, but let it be again mentioned without hesitation that much of the obloquy attaching to the private soldier is due to unguarded language of high commanding officers from Wolfe to Wellington. It has already been pointed out that probably no man has said worse things of the human material of his command than were said by him whom it was the fashion to call the Iron Duke.

This was language applied to the children of the villages and farms, from the workhouses and charity schools who fought at Waterloo: troops of whom he also said that he never saw infantry fight so well; of whom he reported:

> Many of my troops were new, but the new fight well, better perhaps than many who have fought and bled.

It was language applied to the Die Hards (57th), who at Albuera in Spain lost 416 men in killed and wounded, out of a total of 584. But Wellington, a great captain in an age of great captains, belonged, like Carlyle, to a small class of men who proclaim their very mean opinion of their fellow-creatures with a sort of divine confidence. While Carlyle has recorded his opinion that the people of these Islands are mostly fools, Wellington regarded his fellow-subjects as mostly knaves. His first impression, for instance, of Nelson on the sole occasion he ever met the greatest of sea-captains is instructive.

1805. I went to the Colonial office in Downing Street, and there I was shown into the little waiting-room on the right hand, where I found also waiting to see the Secretary of State a gentleman, who from his likeness to his pictures and the loss of an arm I immediately recognised as Lord Nelson. He could not know who I was, but he entered at once into conversation with me, if I can call it conversation, for it was

almost all on his side and all about himself, and in really a style so vain and so silly as to surprise and almost disgust me.

The humour of this report is that the soldier, being then in his thirty-sixth year, had not yet got his colonelcy of the 33rd Regiment, and had not yet served in Europe in any responsible position, and was, outside official circles and the East India House, an unknown man. There were no portraits of him in shop fronts or at print-sellers, while the sailor had already filled the world with his fame, had received the homage of Czar and of Sultan, and of kings, and at the time of the interview was within a few weeks of his crowning victory and death. It is the lively, sociable son of the obscure country parson who opens the conversation with the high-born Wellesley, the brother of a marquis, the son of an earl, who listens *de haut en bas* to chat (described in another place by Prince William Henry as most entertaining and amusing), and then writes of the hero that he was a vain and silly person.

Nelson, on the other hand, enhanced the popular estimation of the sea service. His affability, his fatherly interest in his midshipmen, his care of the health of his fleet, his unceasing vigilance in attacking or warding off the ravages of scurvy, his discouragement of corporal punishment, the very mistakes and errors of his many-sided vitality endeared him to his men, exalted the character of the service, and raised every man's self-esteem.

Very few men in England at that time, if at any time, had the right to cast stones at the nameless heroes whose sufferings and blood sealed our national redemption. What the people were, their defenders were. A society that welcomed Charles James Fox on his own terms, and saluted his apt pupil the Prince Regent as the first gentleman in Europe; that connived at drunkenness and vice in high places; that allowed the pitiless robbery of both soldier and sailor, whether by purser or paymaster or treasurer, to pass without protest; that authorised the press-gang, and branded, hanged, flogged, pilloried, and starved at random, has very little to boast

of that it should ascend the seat of the scornful. That age of such awful contrasts, of such high lights and gloomy shades finds all its defects and qualities fully illustrated in the conduct of the men whom unhappily it became and remains the fashion to decry.

Consequently it appears to be certain that at no time in our history have the inducements to enter either army or navy been less substantial, or the promises of the recruiting sergeant more vain.

The Press-gangs.

We have now reached the place at which some account of impressment is necessary. It will appear from the narratives cited that the men forced into the service of the Crown by press-gangs, were in many instances no more the scum of the earth than their critics. For instance, Captain William Cathcart writes to Lord Cathcart:

*Sunday, 3rd March* 1803.

I received the warrants Sunday morning. At dark I walked up to the barracks, requested a captain's picquet to hold themselves in readiness, and ordered the guard to be reinforced at 12.30 (midnight).

The vessels all lay in tiers off the quay of Waterford which is like the pier of Weymouth, . . . and there was a gangway from the inner vessel to the shore.

At eleven I landed the marines under their sergeant with directions what to do, and also sent a midshipman to the Mayor desiring him to head the military with a view to possible riot. At twelve I sent three boats, one to the centre, one to the right, and one to the left of the vessels. The seamen soon took the alarm, but were all within four hours pressed to the number of 140.

Captain Cathcart in a pressing foray a few days later was waylaid by the butchers of Waterford, and narrowly escaped being murdered. He had the previous Christmas enjoyed a hearty welcome from all classes in Waterford, who sent him, he says, dozens of invitations. His victims were chiefly Whitehaven and Swansea men of the fishing fleets.[1] Mr. James Rymer tells his story of the conditions of the impressed.

[1] *A Naval Miscellany*, i. 320 (ed. Sir J. K. Laughton).

I was surgeon to the *Conquistadore* (*Conqueror*) then stationed at the Nore to receive impressed men from tenders. I have received them in the most pitiful condition. The method is to shut up some sixty or eighty ill-fated mortals in the hold of a small vessel, where they are sometimes as it were stowed in bulk. The hatchway is sometimes hermetically sealed. (A part here of Rymer's observations is necessarily omitted.) Some die, others contract fever, which turns putrid after eighteen or twenty hours of this treatment. They come up into the open air cadaverous, drenched with sweat, looking as if they had come out of the Black Hole of Calcutta.[1]

Here is a passage from Lord Hood's many services to his country. 1781.

When the Admiral (Sir Samuel Hood) drew near to the West Indies, he missed in the night not less than twelve of his convoy. It was given out that they considered themselves out of danger from the enemy, and had proceeded to various British Islands to which they were destined, but when the Island of St. Eustatius was taken, Sir S. Hood found there the missing ships busily employed in landing their cargoes to the agents of British merchants. The masters, mates, and crews of these ships were immediately pressed, and put on board the ships of war.[2]

These masters were suspected of carrying contraband to the enemy. In this case the mates and crews were bound to obey their captain's orders, but Sir Samuel passed them all indiscriminately into the fleet, and the report put about in justification, was that the ship-captains had run cargoes into the ports of the enemy.

A French naval officer was visiting London in 1777, and reports:

A foreigner arrives in London, in that city which, as every-one knows, is perfectly free, but ten times an hour he meets press-gangs pursuing passengers in order to make them soldiers by dint of bastinadoes. The next day he goes down to Ports-

[1] "Chemical Reflections:" in *Naval Pamphlets*, 3rd series, vol. ix., *Radstock Papers*. Goldsmith tells us how he himself was once in peril of being impressed. Cf. a letter quoted in Preface to an edition of his works, "Chandos Classics Series," p. xiii.

[2] Sir S. Hood's "Letters," *Naval Record Society*.

mouth, embarks on board a ship, and there finds half these involuntary heroes chained down in the hold.[1]

Occasionally, however, men slipped through the King's officers' hands. During the American War four East Indiamen homeward bound to London arrived at Spithead. Sir Thomas Pye, port admiral, impressed the crews of these four ships, leaving their captains to their own devices how to get their ships round to London. But even port admirals were afraid of the India House, and eventually Sir Thomas Pye made a contract with the men that he would allow them to man their ships round to London, if they would undertake to return to the King's ships at Portsmouth, or forfeit their wages. However, on arriving in the London river, they were advised by a lawyer who appears to have again and again rescued seafaring men from the claws of crimps and port admirals that the contract was *nudum pactum*, there was no consideration, and thus the contract was void.

Impressment for public service at home and abroad became customary in the sixteenth century, in consequence of the break up of the feudal system by the Tudors. There were no longer armed retainers or tenantry to pursue the quarrel of their over-lords. On the accession of Henry the Seventh most of the former over-lords were dead—executed, murdered, slain in battle. The Tudors discouraged the military spirit of the nation to such a degree that Elizabeth had occasion to notice with surprise that in certain counties hardly a man knew how to put on armour, or how to use weapons.

Hence when English troops were required for service in the Low Countries, few volunteered and press-gangs were set to work.[2] Impressment thus

[1] *Lettre d'un officier, etc.*, 1778.

[2] Col. F. M. Lloyd, *A Review of the History of Infantry*, p. 103. There is an admirable account of the operations of the press-gang as directed by Hawke and Rodney in Hannay's *Rodney*, p. 38. Rodney was instrumental in securing Captain Cook for the Navy, who, to escape the press-gang, enlisted and got bounty money to boot.

becoming a custom of England, the victims of the system got no more pity than a few men feel for the unlucky when every man's luck is hard. Few men have posed as the champions of freedom with more loquacity than did Chatham or Francis, yet the peer and the commoner both defended the necessity for the press-gang. Like their protegees on the other side of the Atlantic, they extolled holy freedom in the abstract, yet frowned little on either injustice or oppression except when it suited party and political purposes to parade such sentiments.

Kidnapping.

But a darker practice than impressment prevailed. Kidnapping had been since the middle of the century organised into a branch of commerce. This infamous trade was carried on with the connivance of the authorities. Men of substance embarked capital in these adventures which had for their object the sale of boys in the colonial markets in Boston or in Williamsburg, and their gangs appear to have become so audacious as to attack isolated cottages, and carry off the children. Even in towns parents were fain to lock their children indoors so soon as darkness set in. The trade ceased with the opening of the American War, but up to that date flourished with the connivance of men of high professions on both sides of the Atlantic,[1] whether Calvinists of Aberdeen or Calvinists of New Plymouth.

There is nothing in a mass of statements about the cruelties and brutalities of kidnapping and impressment, the evidence of correspondence, diaries and reports from sufferers or observers, which goes to weaken the force of Smollett's or Thackeray's descriptions of the operations of the press-gang, or of Stevenson's account of the adventures of the kidnapped Balfour,[2] and the complaints that Justices of the Peace in England sent press-gangs to break up Wesley's congregations, and capture recruits for the army appear to be founded on substantial evidence.

[1] *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, H. G. Graham.

[2] Smollett, *Roderick Random*, ch. xxiv.; Thackeray, *Denis Duval*, ch. viii.

The most unhappy victims of this system of disorderly conscription were probably members of the less comfortable and prosperous classes, but it ill becomes men of a later day, as it ill became Wellington, to mention them as apart from their unquestioned services, in terms of unqualified disparagement. Tens of thousands of young men on deck or in camp, perished of hardships, cruelties, ignorance, or neglect, not because they sought glory, which is ever a matter of opinion; or advancement, which was beyond their reach; or profit, which was denied them, but because "much suffering had to be endured before men could learn to inflict less suffering on their fellows."[1] Their scanty wages were accompanied by the daily swish of the cat, torrents of cursing, and the recorded disdain of great lords, to say little about continued robbery by officials high and low. Now, at least some respect is due to men whose dust has long since been scattered from their blood-stained and unhonoured graves; to men who await justice until the sea gives up her dead.

Uniforms.

In 1775, the uniform of the navy was in course of maturing to its present system. There is a pretty story that George the Second, hesitating what scheme of colour to authorise for the dress uniforms of naval officers, espied a very smart arrangement in blue and white, worn by an Amazon in Hyde Park. The lady was a duchess of well-known taste, and a good Whig. As the King approved both the wearer and the colour scheme, he directed the Navy Board to adopt the now universal blue and white for the King's service afloat. Among the best extant examples of the King's uniform for the navy is a fine coat and waistcoat now in the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall. Many years elapsed before a uniform became compulsory for men afloat. The old English love of colour still lingered among the people, a feeling sailors manifested by their scarlet or canary-coloured waistcoats, their

[1] Masefield, *Sea Life in Nelson's Time*, p. 216.

THE HEAD-PIECE OF THE GRENADIERS' UNIFORM, 1776.

THE OFFICIAL UNIFORM DRESS OF THE NAVAL OFFICER APPROVED BY GEORGE II., 1748.

From the Example in the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall.

bright blue jackets, their love of streamers and parti-coloured ribbons. The crew of a captain's gig not unseldom were rigged up in hunting scarlet, with jockey caps and white silk stockings; a costume which, with varieties, is still talked of by official Thames watermen. The day of sea-boots and waterproofs was not yet, but the trousers flying slack over the ankles had arrived, as they now continue.

So also had the hard round hat, and for board ship the flat tam o' shanter, reduced to the size suitable for one whose eyes must as often be looking aloft as about him. On the whole a sailor's kit was serviceable, adapted to his work, and his shore-going get-up smart and picturesque. Custom allowed him considerable latitude of personal decoration. As every man in the days of periwigs, pomatum, and powder, shaved; the British sailor followed the fashion; and for a time the pig-tail fixed up with powder and tallow was in great vogue. The poor fellows appear to have had a belief in the softening power of smart clothes, not so much to move the feelings of their sweethearts ashore, as to assuage the wrath of their superiors afloat. As the fateful seven bells for punishment parade approached, men entered on the black list for the day used to make an elaborate toilet, in the hope that their captain's heart might be moved to mercy at the sight of a man looking clean, well shaven, and in gay colours.[1]

Officers' dress.

Officers of the navy, in full dress, were arrayed in blue and white and gold. The numerous portraits of Nelson, who entered the navy in January 1771, have made the uniform of the period reasonably familiar. Nor does there appear any substantial variation in the full dress of Hawke, Rodney, Howe, and Nelson. The head-dress of officers in 1775 was of the three-cornered variety, then in its own interesting way advancing towards the cocked hat; still the official covering with

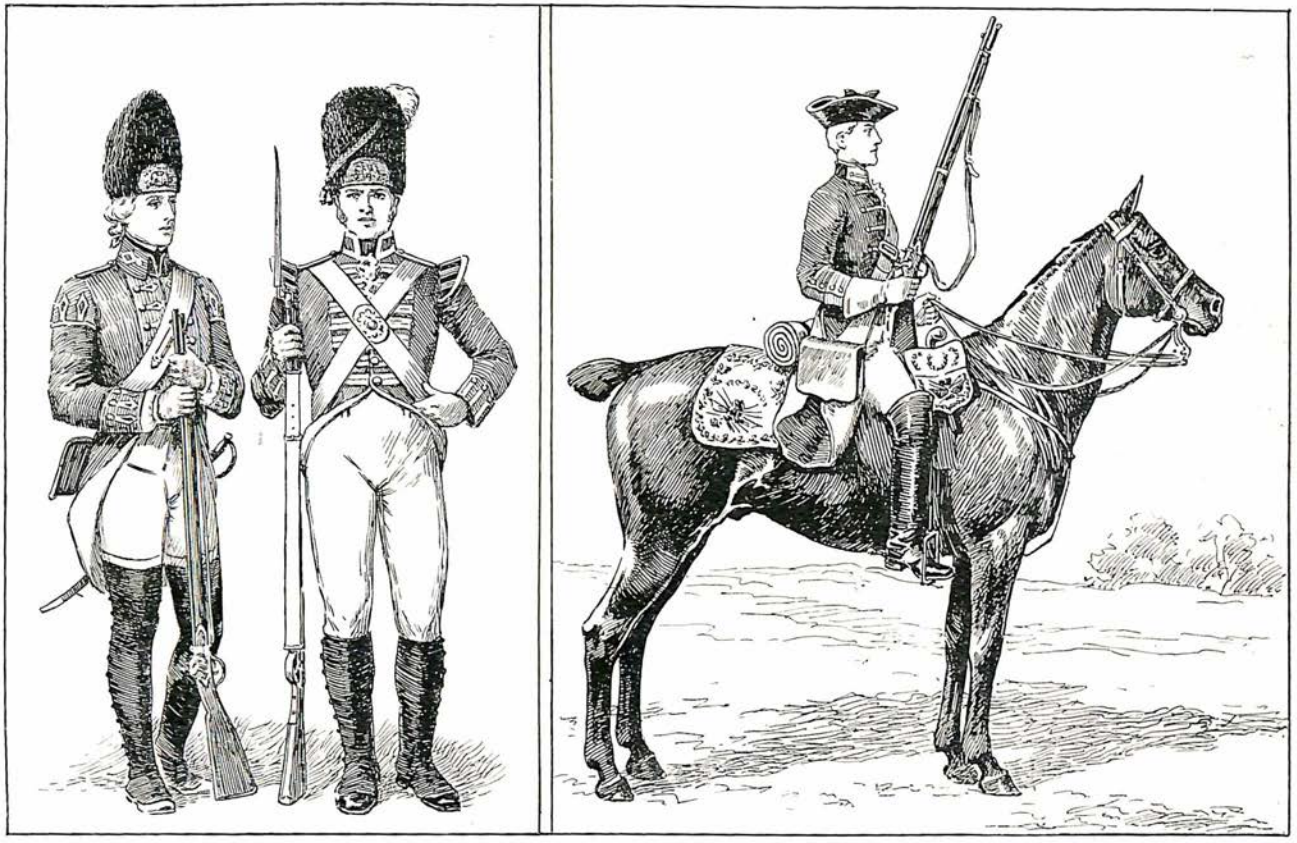
[1] It was also customary for men to don their best clothes before going into action.

staff-officers, deputy-lieutenants, mayors, and ministers of the Crown.

A pleasing variety was a tall beaver with a cockade or brush, worn by midshipmen and marine officers; this head-dress may now be seen on the liveried servants of people of quality. By all accounts the lieutenants of the navy in 1775 were as rough as Monsieur César de Saussure found them half a century earlier. Many lieutenants had been masters or mates of merchantmen, pressed into the King's service, and often were men of many oaths, rough manners, and swinish habits. Yet the regulation uniform was handsome. A bright blue coat, full skirted, with white facings and lapels, gilt anchor buttons, white cloth or kerseymere smalls and silk stockings, with a shining buckle to a broad-toed shoe, made a killing figure out of a smart young fellow. A three-cornered hat and big cockade, worn as Nelson wore it (not as Lord Howe is pictured, with the angle or spout forward but with a side of the hat athwart the forehead), completed an attractive costume. In a matter of clothing the sailor, whose most elaborate toilet did not occupy him one hour, was vastly better off than his military brother, who could not get himself up smartly for parade in much less time than three hours. The poor soldiers, who have always been compelled to follow the fashion, however ugly and unfit for military purposes, were not yet released from the torture of hair-dressing; stiff curls were worn on each side of the face with a long tail behind, the whole plastered and powdered. The officers perhaps could afford pomatum, but the privates used the end of a tallow candle to keep their wonderful hair scheme in regulation order. The army was tormented with the most preposterous and unwarlike methods of dressing the hair until 1808, when an order abolished clubs and pig-tails.[1] A French critic, quoted by Colonel E. M. Lloyd, speaking of the German influence over French and English regulations for soldier's uniform, says:

[1] Luard, *History of the Dress of the British Soldier*, p. 98.

From *History of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers*, by R. Cannon, 1837.



THE INFANTRY SOLDIER.

Before 1783. After 1783.

A DRAGOON.

18th Century, before 1783.

We borrowed from Germany cross-belts, which compressed the chest, but had the advantage of throwing the sword to the rear to knock against the calves and the cartridge-box, to quarrel with the haversack. Long gaiters, which squeezed the legs and stopped the circulation in that useful member of the foot soldier; stocks, which forced him to keep his head up, even with the sun in his eyes . . . . curl papers for the hair, and tight shoes.[1]

Nor did the penance of the soldier close with the wearing of the uniform, for there was the endless bother of keeping it smart. It was button stick and brass brush, heel-ball, pipe-clay, and polish all day long. The long white gaiter put on moist with pipe-clay, and shrinking as it dried caused cramp or rheumatism; the greasy queue rancid with tallow; the beautiful buttons, to say nothing about metal accoutrements, occupied the most of a man's time that was not allotted to punishment, or parade, or drill.

This continual use of heel-ball, pipe-clay, and cleaning traps, paid for out his daily shilling, allowed the soldier little time for any military occupation. Thus there was no time for fire-drill, and no one to give it. It was not expected of the private soldier that he should shoot at anything in particular. It was quite late in Napoleon's military control of the French army that he directed it might be well to give conscripts the opportunity of learning how to load a musket, and which eye to close in aiming. He mentioned that half-charges might be enough to use in this case. There was no mention of a target or of target practice. Hence arose the rifleman or sharpshooter, especially the sharpshooter, who is so called because he actually aimed at some object before firing. It is true that in the British army in 1775 there were, as has been mentioned above, a goodly number of old poachers and others familiar with the use of a gun, who had not in former days wasted powder and shot in aimless shooting, yet military officers of high rank have put down their

[1] Lloyd, p. 179.

opinion that soldiers everywhere aimed at nothing in particular. Clad as they were, according to the German model, with coat sleeves as tight as stockings, with a great belt constricting the chest, a garrotting stock, and a hat that afforded no shade to the eyes, it had been difficult indeed to teach them the art of firing. Hence arose the old saying that it required a man's weight in bullets to kill him. Consistently with the amazing tenacity of official custom, a man who fought at the Alma was very little better off than the man who died at Bunker Hill. In the Crimea the soldier was armed with the rifle of the Minié pattern, but as to belts, pipe-clay, tight coats, stock, and knapsack, he was quite as much weighted, squeezed, and throttled as is compatible with life. The Bunker Hill man is computed to have carried up to a hundred pounds weight of kit and accoutrements at the parade before action; the Crimean man is computed to have borne between eighty and ninety pounds; but the soldier of our own day is happy that he carries a little over sixty pounds.

Nor was the Frenchman at any advantage compared with his British brother, for the French army was not fully equipped with rifles until 1857, although the brilliancy of their uniforms was always much admired. What may be called barrack-room soldiering, polishing, heel-balling, colouring, and japanning, is still devoutly observed in most armies. The official uniform of the commissioned men was not definitely fixed until George IV. brought his responsive mind to bear upon this intricate subject. Previously the matter had been settled by a board of general officers, in terms which left to the colonel-commanding the liberty of interpreting his instructions consistently with their spirit. Consequently, in some regiments the officers' uniform became preposterously expensive. Readers of Thackeray may recall the uniform of Lieutenant Wellesley Ponto of the 120th or Queen's Own Pyebald Hussars, whose splendour on parade at Windsor made the Emperor Nicholas burst into tears of envy. The royal warrant

affecting uniforms authorised without much change the schemes of colour and decorations already in vogue, because of the Duke of Wellington, who was known to be opposed to innovations. To his later hours the Duke was tenacious of his belief that a volunteer army must recruit from the scum of the earth, that the fountain of all discipline was the cat and triangle, and that the Peninsular uniforms were the best of all uniforms.

Regimental finance.

For the whole Eighteenth century and after, the system of clothing and furnishing both man and horse turned the regiment, infantry or cavalry, into a fine property for a careful colonel. What were called the off-reckonings constituted an allowance for the colonel commanding to maintain the uniforms of his men.

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Cavalry on the off-reckoning system : | |
| A sergeant was mulcted per diem . . | 6d. |
| A corporal and trumpeter . . . . | 6d. |
| A private . . . . . | 4d. |
| In the Infantry : | |
| A sergeant was mulcted per diem . . | 6d. |
| A corporal and bugler . . . . | 6d. |
| A private . . . . . | 2d. |

These daily sums were deducted or off-reckoned from the pay of the men according to their status. The reckonings appear to have been made on an estimate of the establishment strength of the regiment, which in 1776 was for an infantry regiment 477 men. Evidently if the actual strength fell to 400, there was a considerable profit to the colonel, who took the deductions from the pay of 77 fictitious men per diem. Out of the above sums, which came to about £9 per year for non-commissioned officers, and £3 a year for an infantry private, the colonel furnished annually to each man a uniform coat, a waistcoat, a pair of breeches, one pair of shoes, and a dress hat with either cockade, feather, or tuft. Every man had to provide out of his pay annually a pair of shoes, long black cloth gaiters, with shirts and socks and mittens, a black stock, his forage cap and knapsack, shoe brushes and

other oddments, and every article for clubbing or pig-tailing his hair.[1] His accoutrements, including belts, cartouche box, and musket, were furnished by the Government. Fire-arms not being of any standard pattern until 1805, for the Government had no factory for small arms, the supply was undertaken by private gun-making firms.[2] The system of farming the regiments by colonels was fiercely assailed by critics who took care to remain anonymous. It was proposed to make over to the colonel commanding, at the time of issuing him his standard pay, a specific sum in lieu of the profit from floating allowances, and that the uniform should be standardised and placed under the direction of a Board appointed by and under the control of Government; but the time for these things was not yet. What profits the colonels made were in many cases very generously spent for the benefit of their regiments, sometimes to keep them up to their strength by extra bounties, sometimes to improve the kit and uniform of the men. In the tangle of anomalies of our public services, the Navy offers that of the purser, who was looked upon as a chartered thief because of the profits wrung from a ship's crew; the Army, that of the colonel, who although a dealer in clothes and sometimes a rascal, was nevertheless often a man his regiment admired and liked as well as feared.

Conditions of the private soldier.

The private soldier towards the close of the century —that time of general misery and poverty—was, however, better off than most men of his class; he was fed, clad, lodged, and, in a rough style, looked after when sick or wounded, while in his scantiness of pocket money he shared the common lot. Thirty shillings a year in those days, with all found, was good money at a hiring fair for an indoor hand at Doncaster or Stour-

[1] Major Thomas Reide, *A Treatise on Military Finance*, p. 431, 9th edition, 1805.

[2] At this period there was no supply of gunpowder from a national factory. Complaints about the powder were incessant and persistent. The first powder factory was at Waltham.

bridge. In Scotland the indoor hand got about twenty shillings a year in the former half of the century, and about two pounds in the latter half. Meanwhile prices had risen to a degree that made the higher wages of less purchasing value.[1] An outdoor agricultural labourer might earn 1s. 4d. a day when at work, but as his wages were dependent on interruptions from weather and other causes he did not work every working-day of the year. While the soldiers' wages rose, as they did rise in 1797, the artisans' and labourers' declined in value, for "dearth had become an institution of the country." Consequently a shilling a day with candle, fire, room, and some clothing, according to the reforms of 1798, compared very favourably with the wages and condition of the Morland peasantry, depicted as they are, with such plump features and such sturdy limbs. As a matter of fact the peasantry were half starved, lived in foul and stinking cottages, were clad in rags, and suffered almost universally from the itch. It does not enter into the scope of this sketch to follow in detail the changes in the domestic condition of the army between 1775 and 1798. The conditions of pay and allowance before 1783 must be gathered from the nature of the reforms in 1783 and following years.[2] Before that date the British soldier was subject to so many stoppages and poundages that he had no alternative but to "desert or starve." That master of finance, Mr. Pitt, like other masters of finance, in his Budgets had a system of robbing Peter to pay Paul, of pleasing the citizen by starving the Services.

It is a blot on any man's financial administration that the money voted for the pay of the army should have been used in converting soldiers into deserters, honest men into outlaws. Surely it is a grave reproach to a statesman not less on financial than on general grounds that, with full knowledge of the conditions of the private soldier (I say nothing of the seaman), he

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, p. 410 (ed. 1894), "The Dear Years, from 1780 to 1820," chapter xiv.

[2] See Appendix B at the end of this chapter.

should have left him to starve from 1784 to 1791, doled him out a grudging pittance in 1792, and increased his pay practically threefold in 1797.[1]

The surgeons and the sick.

Attention has already been called to the provision made for the soldier in the time of his wounds and his disease. Not many survived either a severe wound or an attack of enteric fever. Howe's Order Book for Boston gives evidence that after Bunker Hill the mortality among the wounded officers was very high. The case of the men would be worse. The army doctor of the second half of the eighteenth century worked at his responsible task under great disadvantages. In the first place his professional education had been of the poorest. He was usually a Scotsman. Tobias Smollett may be taken as a respectable example of the surgeon's mate of either service of those days. He entered the navy without examination or diploma. He had been apprentice to a surgeon in Glasgow, where, according to his own account, he had learned to bleed a patient, give a clyster, spread a plaster, and prepare a potion. Before 1727 there had been no place in Scotland where a man could obtain any public medical instruction. In that year the Medical School of Edinburgh appears to have begun its splendid work. After the lapse of a quarter of a century Glasgow followed the example of her younger sister. None of the older men in the services had followed a course of exact public study. In the second place his pay was inadequate. In 1775 the standard pay of a surgeon as given in the records of the Royal American Regiment (60th) was four shillings a day, that of a surgeon's mate three shillings and sixpence. This rate of pay seems to have been the accustomed amount in Howe's army during the three years of his commanding-in-chief. At the end of the century there was a general revision of pay in the public

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, p. 410, chap. xiv., "The Dear Years from 1780 to 1820." Cf. also Fortescue, iii. 523; Lord Rosebery, *Pitt*, p. 156; Hunt, *Political History of England 1760-1800*, p. 346.

service, according to which we find that the inspector-general of regimental hospitals, the apothecary-general, and the principal veterinary surgeon, all attached to the grand or head-quarter staff, were paid on the scale of ten shillings a day.[1] From this fact we infer that the inspector-general of hospitals was not esteemed to be an officer of high value in a most responsible position. There was in 1775 no provision whatever for the organised supply at the public expense of any medical necessaries, not to say comforts. Hence the army doctor was under many disadvantages. He was of no social standing, and was of small professional value, and, like the regimental chaplain, appears but seldom in the reports and documents of the period.[2]

The army surgeon was thus in the same condition of helplessness as his brother afloat. Who paid for splints, bandages, lint, trusses, dressings, ointments, drugs, and general appliances, is a question. It was understood that a surgeon brought his own outfit of surgical tools; but there is plenty of evidence to show that a carpenter's saw was the nearest tool available for some amputations. Lint being expensive, surgeons used the same sponge for a score of wounds or ulcers and propagated blood-poisoning. There were no anæsthetics. A poor fellow about to lose a limb *sub divo*, was given a good draught of rum, and a bit of lead, sometimes a bullet, was passed into his mouth; then had he to see his agony through. The majority of the wounded died of their wounds. A soldier in this respect had a better expectation of recovery than a sailor. He had not been poisoned by scurvy nor weakened by ship's fever. Nor had he lived during his sleeping hours in an atmosphere of stenches and infection as did a sailor. The horrors of 'tween-deck life in heavy weather, with hatches battened down,

[1] See Appendix to this chapter.

[2] Howe's Order Books contain a few notes on the occasions and assignment of duty to surgeons and chaplains. On the Scotch doctors see Graham, ii. 210; on the duties of an army surgeon cf. R. Hamilton, 1794; and on the special diseases of the army cf. L. Pringle, 1810.

were spared him. Everywhere respect for life was small. In the general hand-to-mouth way in which the governance and defence of England has been carried on, Ministers are compelled to omit precautions and preparations until lost ground has to be made up in a hurry. In those days hurry involved human life and intense suffering: a kind of sacrifice offered by the kinsfolk of Ethelred the Unready to official incompetence and the party system.

The murderous doings of the press-gangs, the ruinous condition of old ships and old hospitals, the despatch to sea of incompetent surgeon's mates at 3s. 6d. a day (and find his own medicines), the exorbitant bounties offered for inferior human material at the outbreak of war, the wholesale discharge, after a peace, of men from both services, who, having been in the first instance torn from industrial avocations, had become, either through wounds, sickness, and loss of aptitude, unemployable; these things hardened men's hearts. Yet under the circumstances of their lot the medical officers appear to have done their duty well. They occupied an anomalous position. They had no uniform, their pay was poor, and in the army at least they were regarded as the social inferiors of the other commissioned men. They were known as "Bolus" or "Pill-box," just as a chaplain was called the "Sky pilot" or "Holy Joe" in the one service and "Devil-dodger" in the other.

The chaplain.

Of the army chaplains the number was small and their standing and reputation of the poorest. In both services the chaplains were priests in the Orders of the Church of England. Commanding officers were not keen in the matter of chaplains to the Forces. Sir David Baird in 1805 declined the services of any chaplain, and Lord Cathcart, in command of 27,000 men, attached to his large force only one chaplain.[1] In 1805 the total number of chaplains to the Forces was twenty-eight, of whom thirteen were on duty abroad. There were serving in North America during the Revolu-

[1] Cathcart's futile expedition to N.-W. Germany in 1806; cf. W.O. Returns, 2nd January 1806.

tionary struggle, a mere handful of clergymen. Occasional notices of parades for divine service, and the order of Burgoyne for the 12th of July 1777 that a general thanksgiving for the success of the British arms after the engagement at Hubbarton, completes the record. The classic instance where a clergyman fills the centre of a fine picture, is connected with the burial of the gallant Fraser at Freeman's Farm. A well-known picture and the testimony of Burgoyne have given a marked prominence to the bravery of Mr. Brudenell on that occasion, when Burgoyne reported that:

> The incessant cannonade during the solemnities, the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust which the shot threw up on all sides of him, the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance,—these objects will remain to the last of life upon the mind of every man who was present.

Doubtless elsewhere, too, chaplains did their pious duties thoroughly, but a curious regulation made in 1796 seems to point to the scandal of pluralities in this department as well as elsewhere in the clerical world, with, perhaps, a touch of simony. It was ordered that—

> No sale, exchange, or transfer of commissions by the present chaplains should be permitted after the 25th of December 1796, unless the application for that purpose should have been previously made, and in the interval (between the date of the order and the 25th of December) the chaplaincy should not be sold for more than what was given for it, nor should the purchaser have any right hereafter to dispose of his chaplaincy by sale.

This is an interesting foreshadowing of the Pluralities and Benefices Acts of many years later. The custom of higher ecclesiastical quarters was followed in these humbler regions, for the commissioned chaplain used to remain at home and pay a substitute. As the chaplain's pay was fixed at 6s. 8d. a day the pay of the substitute was probably meagre. Thus military expeditions went on their way with little or no provision for the celebration of public divine service. In the sister service the chaplain was

on a better footing To his sacred duties he frequently joined those of schoolmaster. The Prayer Book has provided certain forms for use at sea, which presume that a ship carries a chaplain.[1] It has been customary in some fleets at least for the whole crew to be paraded for divine service before going into action. After the battle of the Nile the crews had mustered for a service of thanksgiving, while almost the last words breathed by Nelson in the cockpit of the *Victory* were addressed to the chaplain.

The following appear to be the actual facts about chaplains in the King's Services ashore and afloat. The regulations were that to every regiment, as well as to every battleship, there should be attached a chaplain, but the regulations could not be observed. It had become the custom for the colonel of a regiment, as well as for his brother officer in command of a ship, to nominate and appoint his own chaplain. This system did not work. Men of the better sort in holy orders fought shy of an arrangement so derogatory to their dignity and office. In the navy at least the chaplains held office like a boatswain, by warrant and not by commission; the warrant, however, in later years was signed by the Crown, and appears to be thus separated from offices held under ordinary warrant. The difficulty of finding men willing to become chaplains increased to the degree that not one in four battleships carried a chaplain. But in this service too the same scandal unhappily so common with men holding preferment ashore made itself felt. An open letter to the British Navy in 1757 states that:

> A chaplainship is procured by interest, and the same interest which enables a man to obtain this office is sufficient also to get him excused from performing the duties of it, for a cruise on an expedition cannot be supposed to be agreeable to a person who has had a liberal land-education.

[1] In the *Marlborough* (74) divine service was logged only once during a long cruise; Sundays were occupied in cleaning, disinfecting, or painting. Yet the captain seems to have been a man of lenient disposition, neither a martinet nor a bully. Cf. the Log Book of the *Marlborough*, May 1781 forward (in the Brighton Library).

This complaint means that a man's name was borne on the books of the ship, for whom the purser drew allowances, which found their way in fractions into various pockets, including the captain's, while the man himself drew his pay for doing nothing. Yet the conditions of life appear to have been so intolerable that, as has been mentioned, the dearth of clergy willing to enter the service increased so fast that early in the nineteenth century the Admiralty had to petition for an order in Council that they might enter inexperienced clergy or deacons for the naval service.[1]

The information about chaplains in either service during the eighteenth century is scanty. More light is wanted. The general apathy and dreariness characteristic of the Church ashore affected disastrously the work of the Church afloat and abroad. Historians of the Church of England are, to say the least, economical of statements about Christian work in either navy or army. Of the general standard of Church work and influence in this century something has already been said. A little more may now be added in reference to the conduct and position of the clergy of the more dignified sort. The Church of England has suffered a good deal from her bishops, but as Mr. W. H. Hutton points out, the eighteenth-century bishops stand by themselves in the history of the Church of England. The Bishop of Llandaff (Watson) lived in Westmoreland, farming. The Bishop of Bangor (Hoadly) lived in Chelsea, where his dinners and his conversation were justly famed. The Bishop of St. Asaph, that good Whig, Franklin's excellent friend, lived near Winchester. The Bishop of Winchester, in his turn, lived in London, and "seems never to have performed any of his episcopal duties

[1] See an interesting little book by the Rev. Arthur G. Kealy (M. A. Wilkins and Son, Naval Printers, Portsmouth). Mr. Kealy endeavoured to compile a list of chaplains year by year from 1625 forward. Only nine names are given in connection with 1775. There are more in the following year, which was a time of increased naval activity. As to military chaplains Mr. Fortescue thinks no appointments were made for some years.

himself." Bishop Gooch's niece (and housekeeper) made friends with the mistress of Lord Orford, who in her pride drove about returning calls in a coach and six, and accompanied by her chaplain.[1] A fine set of examples for needy men surely! Hence Mr. Wakeman, in a passage with which other writers and the students of that time substantially agree, justly remarks:

> The bulk of the clergy were unenlightened in politics and in conscience, apathetic in religion, and except that they did not lead profane or vicious lives were no better than their times.

The clergy of the army and navy were perhaps a little lower in conduct and character than the very moderate demands of public opinion upon men of their order exacted.

Discipline and Punishment.

Under the head of punishments and discipline it is better to be brief. The cruelty, profanity, and vice prevalent in every class of society and dominating the men of all social ranks were fully operative in the King's services.

Of the two great vices of the age drunkenness caused the more obvious trouble. But the penalties of excess were uneven. The commissioned men who sat in judgment on the toss-pot from the ranks whom they sent to the halberds to be torn by the cat, were frequently themselves in a state of crapulous recovery from the previous night's debauch, and unable to hear plainly or see clearly the evidence produced. But the officers, after sentence pronounced, were at liberty to retire for a repose of which the lullaby might be the shrieks of their fellow-drunkard under the lash of the drummers in the barrack-yard. It was at that time a disease or plague of social practice that the infliction of pain, torture, and death was held of the *bene esse* of society. Not General Washington himself, removed as he was from the conventions and shackles of European life, was free from the dominant idea. His scale of lashes ran

[1] Bishop Gooch filled in succession the sees of Bristol, Norwich, and Ely.

up to 500. All this terrorism was long in passing away. Officials, as is their wont, maintained not only its efficacy, but its necessity. The instruments of a power so often abused—the drummer's cat, the sergeant's rattan, the grating, the halberds, the press-gang, and the crimp—happily have vanished, and the enormities inseparably linked with their records are probably now regarded as picturesque exaggerations.[1]

Of the other vice which corrupted and continues to corrupt armies beyond the power of computation it is commonly agreed that all reference to it is better sent underground. Swarms of prostitutes followed the British forces, as they have other armies in all their campaigns. Gardner says a whole shipload of women was captured by the French off Gibraltar in 1784, women from Castlerag and the Hard. They were allowed on board the transports conveying the expeditionary force to America. It was said 2000 women of sorts were in the train of Burgoyne's expedition from Canada. Most of these poor outcasts must have perished miserably after the capture of the British force at Saratoga. It is obvious that in marching through any country, however friendly it might be to the King's cause, camp followers of this class, who are ever on the verge of destitution, maraud and purloin and behave with outrage. They would take a fierce pleasure in annoying and insulting the prudent and decent women of cottages and farms adjacent to their line of march. The pillage and robbery of Loyalists and their homes in the Jerseys and in Westchester are largely due to this band of loose women, which was largely recruited from local sources. Nor did this plague of women affect only the men in the ranks. The commander-in-chief and some of the divisional generals at least set the example; their ladies, who were other men's wives, and as well known as uniform buttons, gambled and swore and drank; but Howe.

[1] Ships had their permanent reputation for cruelty, for instance, the *Salisbury* (50) was known as "Hell afloat."—Gardner, *ut supra*, p. 30.

these women were not imported from Great Britain. The consequent diseases and debility of the army always impaired its efficiency. Owing to ways of looking at social problems which have to be reckoned with, our army both in India and at home is alleged to be more corrupted and debilitated by sexual diseases than are the armies of Germany, France, Austria, or Italy. There is no means of computing the crippling effect on Howe's army of vice and plagues, from which the American field forces were probably delivered.

The King's men, notwithstanding all these defects and drawbacks, whether of mean birth, no education, coarse habits, and vicious example, behaved very well in America. All their plundering and looting in the aggregate would not equal the damage resulting from the Protestant or No Popery riots in London and other cities in the closing years of this American War. It is pathetic in view of what has since taken place in the United States, as for instance the sacking of Georgia and the burning of Columbia, to hear the cries and clamour of Judge Jones and others, over plundered hen-roosts and how the Dutch tiles in the Van Courtlandt's kitchen were prised out to serve for plates, and how the good Judge himself saw a whole set of the *Annual Register*, that cheerful publication, sold for a quart of gin, and how Bishop Berkeley's library, left behind in Yale, was sadly damaged, to say nothing about doings in Princeton and Long Island. It was a game at which two could play, and did play, for Washington's men, just as bad, accomplished, for instance, at Princeton the destruction of the college organ, which the British had left untouched; but the pathos of the situation is the exaggerated estimate still put upon these losses by writers of colonial times, or of later date. A popular American lecturer bearing an honoured
1865. name informed his audience and readers that

> . . . the passage of the British army in the autumn of 1776 was attended by circumstances of demoniac cruelty. All that wanton barbarity and unbridled passions could do was done, and

when the whirlwind had passed the survivors in many a domestic circle, happy and peaceful till then, looked with longing eyes upon those who had fallen in the first outbreak of violence, and envied them the calm sleep of their graves.[1]

The lecturer called his effort *The Martyrs of the Revolution*, and adduces as instances Otis, Quincy, Warren, and a person called Hale, of whom Warren was killed in fair fight at Bunker Hill, Hale was hanged as a spy, Quincy died of sea-sickness, and Otis, always a man of violent temper, lost his reason. It will be worth recalling in this place that the awful devastation of the Southern American States by the victorious armies of the North were matters of recent occurrence in 1865.

The character of the British army in America and elsewhere has been so systematically blackened by British writers, that it is helpful to a reasonable estimate of the facts to recall the very dispassionate summary of the conduct of our men submitted by Mr. Lecky.[2]

It is extremely difficult amidst the enormous exaggerations propagated by the American press to ascertain how far the English in this contest really exceeded the ordinary rights of war. George the Third was habitually spoken of as a second Nero. The Howes were ranked in the annals of infamy with Pizarro, Alva, and Borgia. There were proposals for depicting British barbarities upon the common coins, for introducing them into school books, in order to educate the American youth into an undying hatred of England.

Let us note that the school book proposition was due to Franklin, and that American school books do still, both in letter and spirit, maintain the traditional hatred. Whatever charges may justly be brought against British authorities, commissaries, governors of prisons, contractors, and other persons of that kidney, for harshness and dishonesty, the man in the British ranks was in his own turn equally their victim.

[1] *Historic View of the American Revolution*, G. W. Greene, Boston, 1865. Cf. also Arthur Lee, 17th December 1778, a letter to Florida Blanca.

[2] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, chap. xiii., "Charges against the English."

It is, moreover, quite certain that no incident connected with the operations of British infantry in America may compare with the massacre of Loyalists by their fellow-countrymen on the Haw River, as narrated by Sergeant R. Lamb.[1]

The Loyalists on the Haw River having risen in numbers Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton was despatched to forward their organisation and to give them succour. Colonel Lee was sent to counteract the measure. On the 25th February the assembled Loyalists were proceeding in a body to the standard of Tarleton, when they were met in a narrow lane by Colonel Lee's force. They mistook the American cavalry for Tarleton's dragoons, and were surrounded before they perceived their error. Quarter was refused, and notwithstanding their supplications for mercy between two and three hundred were inhumanly butchered.

Lord Cornwallis mentions the ferocity of the American troops in the South, and tells of shocking tortures and inhuman murders every day committed on the persons of the Provincials by Greene's troops, not only on those who had joined the British flag, but also on many who desired to remain neutral in this quarrel.[2] But the unhappy fate of the American Loyalists belongs to another place. There is little evidence to support any other conclusion than that the regrettable incidents in this war, so far as the King's subjects were entangled in them, present no features that are not common in all wars; while it is safe to allege that all European wars of subsequent date, whether the long campaign in Spain, with the sack of Badajos, and Ciudad Rodrigo, and San Sebastian, or the short campaign sixty years afterwards in France, with the destruction of Bazeilles, offer instances of unrestrained killing unparalleled in the narrative of this somewhat featureless and desultory contest.

[1] *Journal of the American War*, p. 346.

[2] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, 173. Greene's estimate of the savage nature of the war in the South is well known. Cf. Lecky, *op. cit.*, chap. xv., "War in North Carolina."

# APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

## A.

### THE KING'S FORCES (INFANTRY) WHICH SERVED IN THE INSURGENT COLONIES OF AMERICA 1775-1783

Being the Regimental Forces of the Crown under the command respectively of General The Hon. Thomas Gage, General Sir William Howe, K.B., and General Sir Henry Clinton.[1]

[*Note.*—With the exception of the Guards, all regiments were known prior to 17th July 1751 (temp. George II.) by the names of their colonels. At that date, by Royal Warrant (afterwards confirmed by Royal Warrant of 19th December 1768), the numerical order was authorised. County titles were introduced in 1782 and have been resumed of late years.]

INFANTRY REGIMENTS.

| Number. | Period of Service. | Chief Incidents of Service. | Original Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Guards<br>Brigade<br>Grenadiers<br>Coldstreams<br>Scots | 1776<br>to<br>1781 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown<br>Guildford.<br>Court-house | | |
| 4th | 1775<br>to<br>1778 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Germantown | 2nd Tangier<br>Regiment | Royal Lancashire Regiment (King's Own) |
| 5th | 1775<br>to<br>1781 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>Bronx (N. Yk.)<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown | Monk's | North'mbl'n'd Fusiliers |

[1] These lists have been compiled from Regimental Histories, with some trust that they are fairly accurate.

INFANTRY REGIMENTS (*continued*).

| Number. | Period of Service. | Chief Incidents of Service. | Original Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7th | 1775 to 1781 | Quebec<br>Bronx (N. Yk.) | Royal Fusiliers | City of Lond'n Regiment |
| 9th | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Cornwall's | East Norfolk |
| 10th | 1775 to 1781 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>Bronx (N. Yk.)<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown | Greville's | Lincolnshire Regiment |
| 15th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown<br>Freehold | Clifton's | East Yorks Regiment |
| 16th | 1779 to 1781 | In the Carolinas | A. Douglas' | Bedfordshire Regiment |
| 17th | 1776 to 1783 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown<br>Freehold | Richards' | Leicestershire Regiment |
| 18th | 1775 to 1777 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill | Royal Regiment of Ireland | Royal Irish Regiment |
| 19th | 1781 to 1782 | The Carolinas<br>Eutaw Springs | Lutterell's (Green Howards) | Yorkshire Regiment |
| 20th | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Peyton's | Lancashire Fusiliers |

INFANTRY REGIMENTS (*continued*).

| Number. | Period of Service. | Chief Incidents of Service. | Original Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21st | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Earl of Mar's | Royal Scots Fusiliers |
| 22nd | 1775 to 1781 | Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York | Duke of Norfolk's | Cheshire Regiment |
| 23rd | 1776 to 1781 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Camden | Herbert's | Royal Welsh Fusiliers |
| 24th | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Dering's | South Wales Borderers |
| 26th | 1776 to 1781 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>The Carolinas | Earl of Angus's | Scottish Rifle (Cameronians) |
| 27th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>New York | Tiffen's | Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers |
| 28th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown | Gibson's | Gloucestershire Regt. |
| 29th | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Farrington's | Worcestershire Regt. |
| 30th | 1781 to 1783 | The Carolinas | Sanderson's | East Lancashire Regt. |
| 31st | 1771 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Villiers' | East Surrey Regiment |

INFANTRY REGIMENTS (*continued*).

| Number. | Period of Service. | Chief Incidents of Service. | Original Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33rd | 1776 to 1781 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Guildford Court-house<br>Camden | Duncannon's | West Riding Regiment |
| 34th Flank Companies | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga (Interned) | Lucas' | Border Regt. |
| 35th | 1775 to 1778 | Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York | Earl of Donegal's | Royal Sussex Regiment |
| 37th | 1776 to 1780 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine | Meredith's | Hampshire Regiment |
| 38th | 1775 to 1780 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York | Lillingston's | South Staffordshire Regt. |
| 40th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown | Phillips' | South Lancashire Regt. |
| 42nd | 1776 to 1781 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown<br>Freehold | Earl of Crawfurd's | Royal Highlanders (Black Watch) |
| 43rd | 1775 to 1782 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York | Fowkes' | Oxfordshire Light Infantry |

INFANTRY REGIMENTS (*continued*).

| Number. | Period of Service. | Chief Incidents of Service | Original Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 44th | 1776 to 1780 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown<br>Freehold | James Long's | Essex Regt. |
| 45th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>New York | Houghton's | Derbyshire Regiment (Sherwood Foresters) |
| 46th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine | James Price's | 2nd Battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry |
| 47th | 1775 to 1781 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Saratoga<br>(Interned) | Anthony Lowther's | Loyal N. Lancashire Regt. |
| 49th | 1775 to 1778 | Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine | Edward Trelawney's | Royal Berkshire Regt. (Princess Charlotte of Wales) |
| 52nd | 1775 to 1778 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill<br>Brandywine<br>Freehold | Raised after 1751 | 2nd Battalion Oxfordshire Light Infantry |
| 53rd Flank Companies | 1775 to 1781 | Saratoga<br>(Interned) | Raised after 1751 | Shropshire Light Infantry |
| 54th | 1776 to 1781 | Brooklyn<br>New York | Raised after 1751 | 2nd Battalion Dorsetshire Regiment |
| 55th | 1776 to 1778 | Brooklyn<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown | Raised after 1751 | 2nd Battalion Border Regt. |

INFANTRY REGIMENTS (*continued*).

| Number. | Period of Service. | Chief Incidents of Service. | Original Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 57th | 1776 to 1782 | Brooklyn<br>New York<br>The Carolinas | Raised after 1751 | 1st Battalion Middlesex Regiment |
| 59th | 1775 to 1776 | Lexington<br>Bunker Hill | Raised after 1751 | 2nd Battalion E. Lancashire Regiment |
| 62nd | 1777 to 1781 | Saratoga<br>(Interned) | Raised after 1751 | 1st Battalion Wiltshire Regiment |
| 63rd | 1775 to 1781 | Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine<br>Germantown | Raised after 1751 | 1st Battalion Manchester Regiment |
| 64th | 1776 to 1781 | Bunker Hill<br>Brooklyn<br>New York<br>Brandywine | Raised after 1751 | 1st Battalion North Staffordshire Regiment |
| 65th | 1769 to 1776 | Bunker Hill<br>Charleston | Raised after 1751 | 1st Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment |
| 71st | 1777 to 1783 | The Carolinas | Raised after 1751 | Highland Light Infantry |
| 74th | ... | ... | ... | ... |

ARTILLERY.—(America 1775-1783.)

| Former Name. | Present Name. |
|---|---|
| 1st Battalion, 1st Company | "6" Battery, 2nd Brigade [1] |
| 3rd Battalion, 1st Company | "A" Battery, 4th Brigade [2] |
| 3rd Battalion, 6th Company | "7" Battery, 3rd Brigade [3] |
| 4th Battalion, 1st Company | "4" Battery, 7th Brigade [4] |
| 2nd Company | "6" Battery, 3rd Brigade |
| 3rd Company | "8" Battery, 2nd Brigade |
| 4th Company | "8" Battery, 1st Brigade |
| 5th Company | "B" Battery, 9th Brigade |
| 8th Company | "E" Battery, 1st Brigade |

[1] Services not known in detail. [2] Charleston, Guildford Court-house.
[3] Charleston.
[4] Services of the 4th Battalion were continued throughout the war, and are noticed at Bunker Hill, Brooklyn, New York, Brandywine, Freehold, Savannah, Charleston, except that Company vi. of this Battalion does not appear to have come into action before 1777.

DEPARTMENTAL CORPS.

There being at this time no fully organised Army Service Corps, nor Engineers, nor Medical Service Corps, nor Transport, these cannot be listed.

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## B.

## A SUMMARY OF THE PAY AND ALLOWANCES OF THE ARMY, AS FIXED BY STATUTES, BETWEEN 1783 AND 1798.

[Based upon *A Treatise on Military Finance*, by Thomas Reide, Major on the Staff of the London District, ninth edition, 1805 (vol. i.).]

In the course of the war of 1756 Great Britain had above 150,000 men in pay. At the conclusion of the war, 1762, the forces were reduced to about 40,000, consisting of 2 troops of horse guards, 2 of grenadier guards, 1 royal regiment of horse guards, 4 regiments of horse, 19 of dragoons, 3 regiments of foot guards, 75 regiments of foot, 8 companies of invalids, the whole upon a very low peace establishment.

During the war with America, 1775-1783, and the powers allied against us, we had nearly 200,000, exclusive of the navy, comprehending the militia, provincial, and fencible corps in Great Britain, and the foreign troops and provincial corps abroad. At the conclusion of that war in 1783, the army on the British and Irish establishments was as follows.

Two troops of horse guards, two troops of horse grenadier guards, one royal regiment of horse guards, 4 regiments of horse, 3 regiments of dragoon guards, 19 regiments of heavy and light dragoons, 3 regiments of foot guards, consisting of 7 battalions, 73 regiments of infantry, consisting of 75 battalions, 1 royal regiment of artillery, consisting of 4 battalions and 46 independent companies of invalids. The infantry regiments were reduced at the close of the war from 12 to 8 companies, each consisting of 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 51 rank and file.

The pay of the army was voted yearly in parliament, from estimates laid before it by the Paymaster-General. From an Act passed in 1783 for the better Regulations of the Office of Paymaster-General of His Majesty's Forces, and the more regular Payment of the Army; the following particulars are selected for illustration, but the Life Guards, Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, and Foot Guards were governed by their former regulations.

*Of the Pay of the Cavalry, per diem.*

| | Life Guards. | | | Royal Horse Guards. | | | Two Troops of Horse Guards 1788. | | | Dragoon Guards and Dragoons. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| Colonel | 1 | 16 | 0 | 2 | 17 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 10 |
| Captain | 0 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 7 |
| Lieutenant | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Chaplain | | ... | | | ... | | 0 | 6 | 8 | | ... | |
| Surgeon | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 4 |
| Veterinary Surgeon | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | | ... | | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Sergeant [1] | | ... | | | ... | | | ... | | 0 | 2 | 11 |
| Corporal [2] | 0 | 3 | 9¼ | 0 | 3 | 0¼ | | ... | | 0 | 2 | 4½ |
| Private [2] | 0 | 3 | 2¼ | 0 | 2 | 5¼ | 0 | 4 | 0 [3] | 0 | 2 | 0 |

[1] There were then no sergeants in the Household Cavalry.

[2] The pay of the corporals, trumpeters, kettle-drummer, and privates include in each case 9d. per diem *for the subsistence of a horse.* The pay of a trooper of the guards was in 1900 1s. 9d. per diem, and of a trooper of the cavalry of the line 1s. 2d., but he is not charged with the subsistence of his horse.

[3] Private gentlemen. No non-commissioned ranks.

*Of the Pay of the Royal Wagon Train and Artillery, per diem.*

| Rank. | Royal Wagon Train. | Artillery. |
|---|---|---|
| Colonel . . . | 18s. od. | £3 0 0 |
| Captain . . . | 11 5 | 0 15 4 |
| Lieutenant . . | 7 8 | 0 9 0 |
| Surgeon . . . | 11 4 | 0 11 10 |
| Veterinary Surgeon . | 8 0 | ... |
| Sergeant . . . | 2 2 | 0 2 4 |
| Corporal . . . | 1 7½ | 0 2 2¼ |
| Private (Driver) . . | 1 3 | 0 1 3¼ |

Artillery, whether horse or foot, the same pay. The pay of a gunner of the field artillery was in 1900 1s. 2½d.

*Of the pay of the Infantry* (1783), *per diem.*

| Rank. | Foot Guards. | Infantry Regiments. |
|---|---|---|
| Colonel . . . | £1 19 0 | £1 2 6 |
| Captain . . . | 0 16 6 | 0 9 5 |
| Lieutenant . . . | 0 7 10 | 0 5 8 |
| Surgeon . . . | 0 12 0 | 0 9 5 |
| Sergeant . . . | 0 1 10¾ | 0 1 6¾ |
| Corporal . . . | 0 1 4¾ | 0 1 2¼ |
| Private . . . | 0 1 1 | 0 1 0 |

Reference to any popular Military Manual shows that the foot soldier, whether guardsman or of the infantry of the line, is still paid at the same rate. The difference being that the infantryman of 1783 appears under various deductions and reckonings, to have been mulcted of his daily shilling, while his successor in our times is allowed to keep most of it. Cf. the Royal Warrant for Pay and Promotion, 1900, 691-778.

The following table will show the pay of the grand staff of the army as laid down before the House of Commons by Mr. Windham while Secretary of War, 12th December 1798:

TABLE I.

*Pay of the Grand Staff of the Army in Great Britain.*

| | Per Annum. |
|---|---|
| Commander-in-Chief, for self and four aides-de-camp . . . | £4610 0 0 |
| Adjutant-General . . . | 2420 5 0 |
| Deputy Adjutant-General . . | 345 15 0 |
| Quartermaster-General . . . | 1728 15 0 |
| Deputy Quartermaster-General . | 345 15 0 |
| Assistant deputy Quartermaster-General . | 341 15 0 |
| Barrackmaster-General . . . | 691 10 0 |
| Deputy Barrackmaster-General . . | 518 12 6 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aide-de-camp to the King | £189 | 9 | 0 |
| Chaplain-General | 345 | 15 | 0 |
| Physician-General | 345 | 15 | 0 |
| Surgeon-General | 691 | 10 | 6 |
| Inspector of regimental Hospitals | 172 | 10 | 6 |
| Inspector of Health | 691 | 10 | 6 |
| Principal Veterinary Surgeon | 172 | 17 | 6 |
| Military Commandant of Hospitals | 345 | 15 | 0 |
| Apothecary-General | 172 | 17 | 6 |

The amounts given above were subject to deductions.

Great Britain was then divided into sixteen districts. These were :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northern District. | South West. | North-West. | South Inland. |
| York. | Isle of Wight. | London. | Jersey. |
| Eastern. | Western. | Home. | Guernsey. |
| Southern. | Severn. | North Inland. | North Britain. |

*Pay and Allowances of the Hospital General Staff.*

| | Per Diem. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inspector of Hospitals | £2 | 0 | 0 |
| Deputy Inspector | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Purveyor, including 5s. per diem for a clerk | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Deputy Purveyor | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Physician | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Surgeon | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Apothecary | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Hospital Mate for general service at home | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Hospital Mate for foreign service | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Hospital Mate for temporary or local service | 0 | 5 | 0 |

*Pay of Infantry and Invalid Battalions of the Royal Artillery.*

| | Per Diem. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Colonel Commandant | £2 | 3 | 6 |
| Colonel en second | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| First Lieutenant-Colonel | 0 | 19 | 9 |
| Second Lieutenant-Colonel | 0 | 16 | 10 |
| Major | 0 | 14 | 10 |
| Captain | 0 | 9 | 11 |
| First Lieutenant | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Second Lieutenant | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Chaplain | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Surgeon | 0 | 9 | 11 |
| Assistant Surgeon | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Sergeant | 0 | 2 | 2 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corporal . . . . . | £0 | 2 | 0½ |
| Bombardier . . . . . | 0 | 1 | 10½ |
| 1st Gunner . . . . . | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 2nd Gunner . . . . . | 0 | 1 | 3½ |

*Of Allowances to Officers of Infantry.*

Colonels were allowed 6d. a day for one warrant man in each company, issued monthly with the pay.

Field officers not having companies received £20 per annum in lieu thereof. This allowance was granted to the senior lieutenant and major only.

*Of Allowances to Captains of Companies.*

Captains received their non-effective and contingent allowances annually. When the stock purse was abolished as already mentioned by the Pay Office Act in 1783, it fixed them as follows:—

| Number of Men in a Company. | Allowance per Annum. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Seventy-six men or upwards . . | £56 | 10 | 0 |
| Under seventy-six and above fifty . . | 47 | 7 | 6 |
| Fifty and under . . . . . | 38 | 5 | 0 |

Out of these sums the captains gave a weekly allowance of not less than one shilling each to their pay sergeants, and provided orderly books, ledgers, &c.

If soldiers died in debt and their credits and effects did not pay the amount, the debt fell on captains of companies, except in cases where the debt had been incurred by sentence of a court-martial; in such instance it was considered a public charge, not to be made good by individuals. The expenses attending funerals also fell in the same manner on the captains. If recruits died before they were posted to companies, and their effects and credit were too small to pay for burying them, the expense was included in the half-yearly allowance of the captains in general of the corps they were attested for. (Cf. War Office Order dated 1802.)

A NOTE OF M. CÉSAR DE SAUSSURE ON THE DIETARY OF A KING'S SHIP IN 1730 (*page* 363, *Letter XVI., Lisbon, December* 1730).

[There was no official Change of Dietary until the close of the century. Commanding officers were not backward in their endeavours to improve the food of their men, but their efforts were for the most part thwarted.]

"Our captain graciously permitted my name to be inscribed on the King's Book, and agreed to allow me to pass before the authorities as a letter-man or volunteer, and owing to this I obtained sailors' rations without cost.

"Rations are all alike and equal; they are given out to four sailors at a time. Officers receive the same food, no difference being made between them and the men. Biscuits and beer as much as can or more than can be eaten or drunk in a day, are served to each man, the quantity consisting of four pounds of biscuits and four pots of beer.

"These biscuits are as large as a plate, white, and so hard that those sailors who have no teeth, or bad ones, must crush them or soften them with water. I found them, however, very much to my taste, and they reminded me of nuts. All the time we were at sea we had no other bread. A pound of cheese is allowed to every four sailors. Half a pound of butter for breakfast and the same for supper. Each sailor eats one pound of boiled salted beef three days in the week for dinner, together with a pudding made of flour and suet. On two other days he eats boiled salted pork, with a pudding of dried peas, and on the remaining two days pea soup and salt fish, or bargow, which is a nasty mixture of gruel as thick as mortar. One candle is given out between every four men, and when in wine-growing countries each sailor is allowed a pint of this liquor. Besides his food, each man receives 26s. a month wages. Thus, you see, sailors are not only well fed but well paid. Officers receive sailors' rations, but as this does not satisfy them, they club seven or eight together to buy wine, punch, and fresh provisions."

END OF VOL. I

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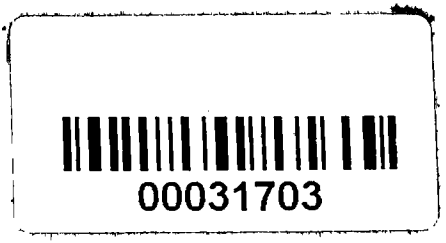


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